the weekly Standard

FEBRUARY 16, 2004

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KAY PASA?
Boot, Hayes, and Sokolski on Iraq and WMD

The Wreck of the BBC

by Gerard Baker

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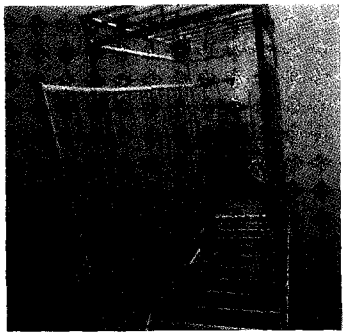

Instead of competing, the Bell phone giants are circling the laws that give consumers a choice in local phone service.

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[1]"Ameritech customers off limits" Chicago Tribune, October 31, 2002; [2]SBC Analyst Call, November 13, 2003

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HALLIBURTON

FROM THE DESK OF DAVE LESAR

To hear the critics lately, it would be hard to recognize Halliburton as a company with **60 years** experience serving the military since World War II when we built warships for the Roosevelt administration. Within all the political rhetoric, it would be impossible to find our employees who wear body armor and helmets while they work alongside the troops in Iraq. And lately, we would be unidentifiable as a company that is:

- **Values-driven**
- **Transparent** in our business transactions with the government
- Committed to help rebuild Iraq and provide food, shelter, Internet connections and clean clothes **for the soldiers**
- Dedicated to our financial **responsibility** to our clients and stakeholders

That's why we have a team of internal auditors who do daily forensic work monitoring contracts to ensure that our work is an endorsement of Halliburton's code of business conduct. Recently, we found possible improper payments by one or two former employees in Kuwait.

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Sincerely yours,

David J. Lesar
Chairman, President and
Chief Executive Officer

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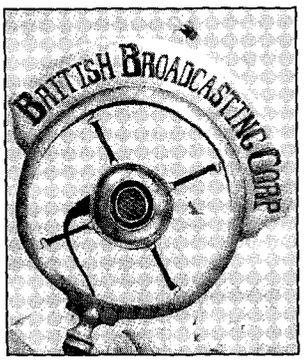

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the weekly Standard

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Remembering Paco

In his reporting during the war in Iraq, our colleague Stephen F. Hayes frequently called on Sergeant First Class Curtis "Paco" Mancini, a 17-year veteran of the Davie, Florida, police department who had been recruited to train Iraqi Americans working with U.S. soldiers to liberate their native country. Hayes described Mancini as a "soldier's soldier"—a cliché, perhaps, but nonetheless an apt description of the burly 43-year-old with a shimmering Mr. Clean head.

Mancini and his hand-picked colleagues trained the Iraqis at a military base in Tazsar, Hungary, and accompanied them first to Kuwait and later to Iraq. Their work was invaluable and led directly to thwarting several anti-coalition attacks. He came up with many of the nicknames the American soldiers gave their Iraqi-American buddies. One was known as "Tupac" because he listened to rapper Tupac Shakur. His brother and father were called "Three-pack" and "Six-pack." Another was known as "Burt Reynolds" for his resemblance to the B-movie actor. And there was "Robert DeNiro."

"Every once in a while we'd get him to say, 'You tawkin' to me?'" Mancini recalled. "He was perfect."

Ahmed, another of the Free Iraqi Forces who was known as "George Michael," told Hayes how he tried to recruit other fellow Iraqi Americans to join him in Iraq.

"Let me ask you a question," he said to his friends in California. "Why the American people, why the American soldier, have to die in our homeland? I say we have to die there. So I say to them [he points], you and you and you, you have to volunteer so less American people go. If you are American soldier, you go to Basra, why you have to die there?"

Curtis Mancini went to Basra. He didn't die there. He died in Ghazni, Afghanistan, on January 30, 2004, with seven of his fellow American soldiers, when a weapons cache exploded unexpectedly. Eight days before he died, Mancini was interviewed via email by his daughter for a school project. "Serve your country at least once in your life," he wrote, "preferably while you're young."

Mancini's father, himself a U.S. Army veteran, spoke at a memorial service last Wednesday. "If he had his choice of dying, this is the way he'd want to go."

In a sense, his son did have a choice. Upon returning from Iraq he volunteered to be redeployed to a combat zone. His father asked him why. "Because the job is never done," the younger Mancini said. Before he left, he told his mother that he had to go back now "so that my children and other people's children won't have to do it later."

Said the elder Mancini: "He was a soldier's soldier." ♦

That Doggerel Won't Hunt

Give Democratic National Committee chairman Terry McAuliffe credit: He wanted a relatively quick primary season and it looks as though that's what he's getting, and we should be grateful. This thing can't end too soon. The rhetoric is getting almost unbearable.

Just last week, poor Wesley Clark flew into New Mexico, where he announced, "It's gonna take one tough hombre" to beat President Bush. "And I'm one tough hombre," he added helpfully. The ethnic toadying is painful to watch. What will happen if he campaigns among American Indians? "I'm the real Kemo Sabe in this race!" Will he be a tough mensch in New York, an NWA in Detroit? Stop him before he panders again.

And now John Kerry—a man with the finest education American private schools can offer, a man of the world who winters in Aspen and summers in Nantucket—has descended into doggerel under pressure of his frontrunner status. "Like father, like son / One term only / And Bush is done," he chanted at campaign stops last week. Well, two can play at that game. How about "IGNORE THE BORE IN 2004"? "BE WARY OF KERRY"? The possibilities are endless. If we could just figure out a rhyme for Nantucket. . . . ♦

Outside the Box

The Scrapbook is not very big on the outdoors, but we do sometimes take vicarious pleasure in reading *Outside* magazine. We were more than a little astonished to come across an article headlined "The Case for Drilling ANWR" in the eco-glossy's February issue.

Author David Masiel, who worked on barges before turning to writing, interviewed Washington wonks and Alaskan oil crews, as well as environmentalists and indigent tribesmen. What he's produced is a model of one-

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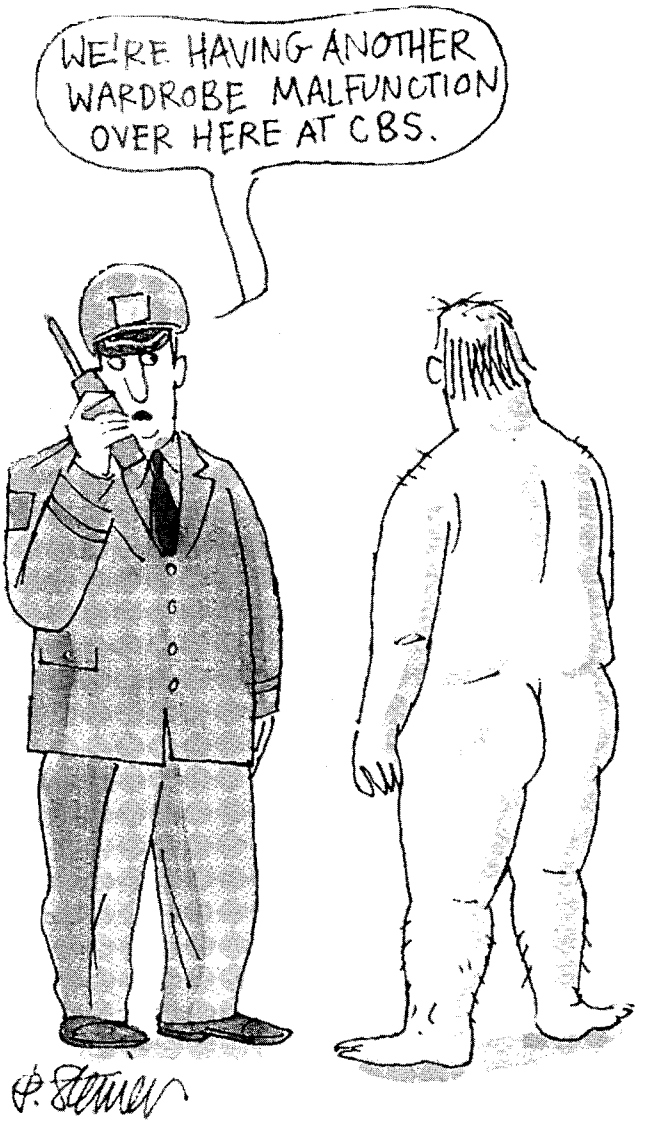

man investigative journalism. He argues that carefully targeted oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge can be done safely. The Bush administration has made this argument in the name of energy independence; more important to Masiel is the economic benefit that would flow to the Inupiat villages of Kaktovik, on Alaska's northern shore.

With special issues devoted to the nation's water supply and in-depth coverage of tropical rainforests, no one's about to accuse the crunchy-cute *Outside* magazine of being a patsy for Bush. Which makes it all the more courageous of them to publish this piece. ♦

Chief Wiggles Update

Several issues ago, we highlighted on this page the charitable work in Iraq of a pseudonymous National Guardsman and blogger, "Chief Wiggles," who inspired and helped organize a gigantic distribution of toys from American donors to Iraqi children.

Last week at the National Prayer Breakfast, President Bush paid tribute to the chief: "Our people in uniform understand the high calling they have answered because they see the nation and the lives they are changing. A guardsman from Utah named Paul Holton has described seeing an Iraqi girl crying and deciding then and there to help that child and others like her. By enlisting aid through the Internet, Chief Warrant Officer Holton had arranged the shipment of more than 1,600 aid packages from overseas. Here's how this man defines his own mission: 'It is part of our heritage that the benefits of being free, enjoyed by all Americans, were set up by God, intended for all people. Bondage is not of God, and it is not right that any man should be in bondage at any time, in any way.' Everyone in this room can say amen to that." ♦

Breindel Award

Applications are invited for the annual Eric Breindel Award for Excellence in Journalism. The award is named for longtime *New York Post* editor and columnist (and WEEKLY STANDARD contributor) Eric Breindel, who died in 1998 at the age of 42. It is presented each year to the columnist, editorialist, or reporter whose work best reflects the spirit of Breindel's too-short career: love of country, concern for the preservation and integrity of democratic institutions, and resistance to the evils of totalitarianism.

Last year's posthumous winner was Michael Kelly, the columnist and *Atlantic Monthly* editor who was killed in Iraq while on assignment. Previous winners have included author Victor Davis Hanson and *National Review* managing editor Jay Nordlinger.

For an application and further information about this year's contest, which once again features a $10,000 award, please contact Germaine Febles, 212-843-8031, or gfebles@rubenstein.com. The recipient will be announced in June. ♦

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Casual

Splish Splash

The perfect shower requires very hot water and a great deal of steam. It needs extra nozzles to surround you with spray, a hot-water heater big enough to run for ages, and a place to lounge while contemplating the enormity of God's creation and placing bets with yourself about which condensed-steam droplet will slide down the tile to reach the soapdish first. A shaving mirror is also nice, and the whole thing has to be quiet enough that you can hear yourself sing all ninety-three verses of "The Wreck of the *Edmund Fitzgerald*" while making the correct sound effects for lines like *The wind in the wires made a tattletale sound / As the waves broke over the railing. / And every man knew, as the captain did, too, / 'Twas the Witch of November come stealing.* The perfect shower, in other words, is a bath.

Somewhere in the *Ashenden* spy stories, Somerset Maugham says a bathtub should be large enough that you have to stretch, just a little, to reach the faucet with your toes when you need to dribble in more hot water. Personally, I've always preferred side-mounted faucets, and I am, if I say so myself, a connoisseur of bathtub fixtures. Shop assistants in places like Restoration Hardware run away when they see me browsing their plumbing-supply shelves. In friends' houses—in mere acquaintances' houses, for that matter—I always take a look at the bathtub to see if they've discovered anything I've missed.

Still, there's no denying that Edwardians like Maugham knew a thing or two about baths. The tiny, molded-plastic things typically installed in bathrooms these days—often in some would-be color like avocado or dusty rose—aren't bathtubs. They're wading pools for people who think three minutes in a wobbly sitz tub is a bath.

No, a proper bathtub is a monstrous cast-iron object that looks as though the *Edmund Fitzgerald* ended up in your bathroom instead of at the bottom of Lake Superior. It should be enameled white on the inside and black on the outside, with big claw feet to hold it up. It should have brass fixtures, with a hand-held nozzle on a flexible hose. Most of all, it needs to have *two* handles on the faucets, one for hot and one for cold, so you can get the heat exactly right. Does anyone actually like those single-handle, dial-a-temperature controls that plumbers seem to love to put in bathrooms? I get a wrong number every time I try to use one, alternately scalding and freezing myself.

Darren Gygi

Besides, a bath is really about leisure rather than ablution. Showers are to baths as wristwatches are to pocketwatches: an improvement, easier and quicker—and a decline, somehow, in taking time to smell the bath salts. Baths are about getting away from it all, by which I think I mean mostly getting away from children. My daughter (like my wife, I must say) apparently believes a man should finish a shower in under two minutes. It's ridiculous, of course. You can barely get the mirrors fogged in two minutes. But while I'm showering, my daughter will sit outside the door calling plaintively every fifteen seconds to ask if I'm done yet. When I take a bath, she gives up and wanders away in despair.

That's what gives me the chance to play with her bath toys. Her bubble bath, too, although it's not like it used to be. Children today will never know how truly monumental bubble bath could be before the Environmental Protection Agency banned phosphates in soap. When I was a child, a good dollop of Mr. Bubble made something like a two-foot-thick layer of Styrofoam. The captain and crew could have floated halfway across Lake Superior on the stuff.

Bath crayons, though, are a major advance. I don't remember these from when I was young, but they're perfect for scribbling on the tile the deep thoughts that come only in a bathtub. Or drawing caricatures of the neighbors, or playing tic-tac-toe against yourself, or writing out the opening of the *Canterbury Tales*, if that's your preference.

And no bath is complete without a ship to sail across the treacherous seas, by the Scylla of your feet, and safely past the Charybdis of the drain. The iron boats go, as the mariners all know, with the gales of November remembered. Of course, the legend lives on, from the Chippewa on down, of the big bath they call Gitchee Gumee. The bathtub, they say, never gives up her dead when the gales of November come early. And all that remains are the faces and the names of the wives and the sons and the daughters—which reminds me, it's probably time to get out. Maybe just one more dribble of hot water and one more time through "The Wreck of the *Edmund Fitzgerald*."

Joseph Bottum

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Reflections OF *Excellence.*

In a challenging year...
In a turbulent industry...
In a stormy economy...

to be recognized for an achievement is always an honor. But to be recognized as the best of the best is truly a reflection of excellence.

Entergy Corporation has been honored in the Platts/BusinessWeek Global Energy Awards as the 2003 Global Energy Company of the Year. And, for his dynamic leadership and vision, Entergy's chief executive officer, J. Wayne Leonard, has received the Global CEO of the Year Award.

These are only the latest of a number of major honors Entergy has earned. In 2002 the company received the Edison Award, our industry's highest internal prize, and was named Global Power Company of the Year in the Platts/BusinessWeek competition. Earlier in 2003 Entergy was presented EEI's Index of Shareholder-Owned Electric Utilities Award for having the industry's best financial results over the past five-year period.

These awards are powerful evidence of the determination of Entergy employees to excel in the arenas of reliability, customer service, shareholder return, diversity, scope, technological innovation, environmental care and social responsibility.

We at the Edison Electric Institute congratulate Entergy, Wayne Leonard and the company's whole work force on this well-deserved recognition. At Entergy, "The Power of People" obviously is more than just a corporate slogan. It's an ongoing commitment to quality performance.

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U.N.-Accountable

Joseph Bottum's editorial "No Abortion Left Behind" (Feb. 2) accuses our organization and others of shunning democratic processes in order to promote "unfettered access to abortion." To the contrary, our purpose is to use democratic processes to achieve our goal—to promote and defend reproductive rights in the United States and around the world. We participate in democracy every time we advocate for better legislation or file a brief in a court or with a human rights body. We advocate and litigate because the constitutions approved by people in most of the world's countries give courts the mandate to check governmental excesses that violate individual rights.

Ensuring that governments respect and protect the rights of traditionally disenfranchised groups is a precondition of free and fair societies. In fact, in countries where democratic institutions, including legislatures and courts, are strongest, women have won legal protection for their reproductive rights.

Finally, we do not use the term "reproductive rights" as code for abortion on demand, as Bottum implies. It is a phrase embodying a holistic approach to women's reproductive and sexual health, at the heart of which is the right to decide when to have children and how many. Under such conditions, countries prosper, children thrive, and democracy is the winner.

Nancy Northup
President, Center for Reproductive Rights
New York, NY

I was disappointed to read Joseph Bottum's completely inaccurate editorial attack on UNICEF. Bottum's claim that UNICEF has lost its focus on saving children is way off the mark and lacking supporting facts. Basic health, nutrition, and survival for children occupy more than half of UNICEF's budget. We spend more than ever on life-saving emergency relief for children in war zones and natural disasters, most recently in Iraq and Iran.

Equally false is Bottum's claim that UNICEF promotes abortion. UNICEF does not spend a penny on abortion or abortion-related activities. UNICEF has never promoted the legalization of abortion or the expansion of abortion-related services anywhere.

The fact is, thanks to UNICEF's commitment to children, three million fewer boys and girls will die this year than a decade ago, deaths of young children from diarrheal diseases have been cut in half, polio has been brought to the brink of eradication, and nearly 91 million newborns are protected each year from severe mental impairment through salt iodization. We are the world's largest purchaser of childhood vaccines, and are pushing to expand the fight against measles, malaria, and maternal mortality.

Today, UNICEF's commitment to child survival is more challenging than ever, largely because of how drastically

AIDS has changed the environment in which we work. There are now an estimated 11.8 million young people aged 15 to 24 who are living with HIV/AIDS and more than 14 million children who have lost one or both parents to AIDS, most of them in sub-Saharan Africa.

UNICEF is not out there throwing condoms off the back of trucks, but we do believe condoms are a crucial part of the fight against AIDS, along with abstinence and faithfulness to one partner. The U.S. government also buys into this "ABC" (Abstinence, Be Faithful, Condoms) approach to preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS among the young.

Bottum's right about one thing: We're not Danny Kaye's "old international children's fund," but we have no doubt that Danny would be completely comfortable with the work UNICEF is doing today. He would know that there is nothing that we do that is not central to child survival, which is why UNICEF continues to be the world's leader for children.

Carol Bellamy
Executive Director, UNICEF
New York, NY

The editorial by Joseph Bottum misrepresents facts about the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). Contrary to claims in the editorial, the State Department's own independent assessment team reported UNFPA's strong opposition to forced abortion in China and found no evidence the Fund supported such practices. UNFPA does not support or promote abortion anywhere in the world.

The fund abides by the Program of Action of the 1994 Cairo International Conference on Population and Development, which explicitly states: "In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning." In line with that agreement adopted by 179 governments, UNFPA promotes voluntary family planning to prevent unwanted pregnancies and eliminate the need for abortion.

UNFPA promotes the basic right of individuals and couples to decide freely for themselves how many children they want to have, when to have them, and to have the means to exercise that right.

Richard Snyder
UNFPA
New York, NY

It is inaccurate to associate UNESCO with the issues Joseph Bottum raises in "No Abortion Left Behind." Abortion and abortion-related issues do not fall within UNESCO's mandate. Indeed, UNESCO's constitution, policies, and programs neither evoke nor call for work or research in the area of abortion. No funds provided either by the member states or extrabudgetary sources are spent by UNESCO on abortion-related activities or materials.

UNESCO publishes and prints numerous publications and is associated

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with a number of co-publications. When it was discovered last year that some work neither written nor funded by UNESCO had been inadvertently posted on the website of a UNESCO field office, that material was immediately withdrawn.

SUZANNE BILELLO
UNESCO
New York, NY

JOSEPH BOTTUM RESPONDS: You'd think the staff of the Center for Reproductive Rights would have the sense to keep their heads down for a while. When embarrassing internal memos about what they themselves call their "stealth" campaign have been exposed to public mockery—and when Nancy Northup, the president of the center, has written cease-and-desist letters insisting that "disclosure of this material has caused . . . irreparable harm"—it's not stealthy of them to come out in public once more to try a last-minute repair job. Irreparable it was, and irreparable it remains.

Northup's letter to THE WEEKLY STANDARD is a good example of why. Taking exception to my observation of the center's distaste for democracy, she insists that her lawyers "participate in democracy" every time they file a brief "with a human rights body." Permit me to say that this is exactly what I mean by a distaste for democracy. Who elected these human-rights bodies? Where is there an appeal against their decisions? Under what theory—except the adventitious fact that they are all on Northup's side of the abortion debate—does she imagine them to have the people's consent necessary for the democratic rule of law?

No, the staff of the Center for Reproductive Rights consistently favor stepping around democratic processes to get what they want without the messiness of actually consulting voters. Take a look at their website, where they take credit for the surely undemocratic advance of Nepal's recent royal dictate that legalizes abortion. Or take a look at the considerate way they treat China's forced-abortion policy: "National laws [in China] neither criminalize nor restrict access to [abortion]. Rather, some laws reflect a preference for the pregnant woman to undergo this procedure under certain circumstances." Indeed, China's "one-child" law has "positive, women-friendly features."

Now, contrast that with their apoplectic view of the United States: "President Bush turned a blind eye to the U.S. Constitution, Supreme Court precedent and women's health by signing into law an unconstitutional ban on abortion . . . , the culmination of an administration determined to unravel constitutional protections for women's self-determination, women's right to make private decisions without government intervention, and women's right to preserve and protect their health throughout pregnancy."

The difference is, of course, that an abortion-compelling, antidemocratic Chinese regime is giving the Center for Reproductive Rights universal abortion on demand, while the democratic United States is struggling against it. If Northup prefers to work with Communist dictatorships, that's her privilege, but let's not have any more nonsense about her center's love for "democratic processes."

Finally, there's her claim that "we do not use the term 'reproductive rights' as code for abortion on demand." This is not true. On the center's website, you'll find a list of what "these rights include." And, sure enough, there is "the right to safe, accessible, and legal abortion," exactly where you'd expect it to be. Doesn't Northup read her own secret memos? She'll find in them a staff complaint that abortion has become *all* that "reproductive rights" means. It's in the section headed: "Expanding Beyond Abortion: What are the other reproductive rights issues we have not been addressing or that we should put renewed energies into?"

The executive director of UNICEF, Carol Bellamy, denies the charges in THE WEEKLY STANDARD. And yet, under her leadership, UNICEF has betrayed former director Jim Grant's vision of a worldwide "Child Survival Revolution" in order to join the lock-step international activists who have made up her circle of friends since back in the days when she was the abortion lobby's darling in New York City politics.

The Center for Reproductive Rights believes abortion is the most important thing in the world, while the United Nations Population Fund would sup with the devil—*has* supped with the devil, in point of fact, in China and Peru—if it resulted in fewer babies.

UNICEF had something better to do, trying to provide "basic health, nutrition, and survival for children." And Bellamy instead decided to turn the organization into a stalking horse for UNFPA and a shill for the abortion NGOs. It's reached the point that even the *Lancet*—practically the definition of mainstream, liberal consensus in international medicine—is begging Bellamy to put child survival "back on the agenda." This is what I meant when I listed her among the fanatics who warp every institution and every occasion to concern abortion.

In point of fact, however, I didn't directly accuse UNICEF of financing abortions. I said that they had given up feeding hungry children in order to agitate for minors' access to condoms, require that refugee camps provide abortion services, and hand out sex-education manuals to third-world children. I might have added that they have campaigned for the worldwide legalization of prostitution, driven away the Vatican that Jim Grant found so helpful in his old UNICEF projects, weakened their promotion of breast-feeding because of feminist complaints that it made women look like "milk cows," and, in the name of girl-power, nearly abandoned the education of boys even in countries where more girls are in school than boys.

Does Bellamy deny any of this? She insists, "UNICEF does not spend a penny on abortion or abortion-related activities. UNICEF has never promoted the legalization of abortion or the expansion of abortion-related services anywhere." But this merely dodges the issues I raised—or even admits them, in essence, for Bellamy goes on to claim that "basic health, nutrition, and survival for children occupy more than half of UNICEF's budget." That's good, if true. But back in 1992 these consumed 85 percent of UNICEF's budget. Where is the difference going, the 30-odd percent of a nearly $1.5 billion annual bud-

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get that has been transferred away from child survival?

Surely that's a reasonable question to ask in a world in which, according to the *Lancet*, international relief could have assisted more than 6 million children who died last year of preventable disease and starvation. UNICEF is supposed to try to save these children, and the United States government donates more than $200 million a year to help them do it.

Instead UNICEF is giving books to Latin American grade-school students that tell them how to have sex with each other and their dogs, according to a series of articles in the *Washington Times*. Instead UNICEF is installing condom-dispensing machines in Chinese nightclubs. This is obscene and shameful.

The Chinese condom-machine adventure, by the way, was a 1998 project that UNICEF funded for the abortion-provider Marie Stopes International—although in 2002, UNICEF sent an official letter to the State Department declaring it had "no relationship" with Marie Stopes.

Now, in her letter to the editor, Bellamy insists UNICEF "does not spend a penny on abortion." But UNICEF's 1996 refugee field manual demands access to abortifacients. Since 1996, UNICEF has helped fund the Population Council's $1.1 million-a-year program for "managing unwanted pregnancies." UNICEF's name is on the title page of the 1998 "Guidelines on HIV/AIDS" that require nations to allow "safe and legal abortion." In 2000, UNICEF consulted with a pro-abortion NGO called "Family Care International" to produce a manual on how to force countries to legalize abortion. Since 2000, UNICEF has financed South African "LoveLife," a sexual-freedom advocacy group that gives lessons, *inter alia*, in the proper love rituals to use after having the abortions it helps women to get. And UNICEF is at this very moment transferring funds to the abortion-providers Marie Stopes and International Planned Parenthood in Sierra Leone.

There are dozens of other examples, all proving that UNICEF does plenty "not central to child survival." Does anyone think this is what Danny Kaye had in mind when he asked American children to collect coins for UNICEF in those little orange boxes? Carol Bellamy has put the once-admirable children's fund in bed with UNFPA, the Population Council, Marie Stopes, International Planned Parenthood, and all the rest of the fanatics. Until UNICEF returns to Jim Grant's "Child Survival Revolution," American citizens and the United States government should find other agencies for the millions they now give to UNICEF.

UNFPA and THE WEEKLY STANDARD aired their differences back in 2002 when Colin Powell cut off American donations because of UNFPA's participation in China's forced-abortion policy. There's little point in rehashing it now, since nothing has changed: UNFPA is still facilitating coerced abortions in China.

It's worth noting, however, that UNFPA spokesman Richard Snyder claims, in his letter, that "UNFPA does not support or promote abortion anywhere in the world." This is one of the most risible lines ever to appear in these pages. You can't begin to count the UNFPA programs that support abortion. You can't begin to list the thousands of documents it has published promoting abortion. UNFPA does little *besides* financing abortion and agitating to change laws against abortion.

Leave aside its willing role in China, and leave aside its direct part in President Alberto Fujimori's programs in Peru. UNFPA runs 17 percent of its annual budget through NGOs that are quite happy to do its dirty work indirectly. Such organizations, the former director of UNFPA, Nafis Sadik, has explained admiringly, "are willing to take risks that governments certainly won't, even U.N. organizations won't, but [national governments and the U.N.] can finance."

Did I mention that Dr. Sadik is also on the board of Nancy Northup's Center for Reproductive Rights? This is the answer to Suzanne Bilello's letter from UNESCO denying an ongoing involvement in abortion issues. UNESCO may now have withdrawn from its website in Thailand the pro-abortion material it got from UNFPA. But all parties to this debate understand that UNFPA is at the center of the interlocking U.N. organizations and NGOs devoted to abortion, contraception, and sterilization. So what was UNESCO doing cozying up to UNFPA in the first place? And why is UNESCO running a "Regional Clearing House on Population Education and Communication" in Bangkok, anyway?

Until there's evidence to the contrary, I'm willing to believe President Bush did the right thing in returning the United States to participation in UNESCO. I'm willing to believe UNESCO has much improved in recent years. But it would be good to know that UNESCO hasn't just "withdrawn" such material, but that it understands abortion advocacy isn't its job. It would be good to know that UNESCO isn't simply another U.N. agency warped by the fanatics who put abortion ahead of everything else.

CORRECTIONAL FACILITY

IN MATTHEW CONTINETTI'S "The Many Faces of John Kerry," (Feb. 9) mention is made of a "memo" from former Kerry campaign manager Jim Jordan to Mary Beth Cahill "leaked" to ABC News. In fact, the memo was a satirical parody written by the political staff of ABC News.

In Noemie Emery's "Back to 1984" (Feb. 9), we reported that "in 2002, 52 percent of Americans held stock equity holdings; and 29 percent of these owned $1,000 or more." In fact, the 29 percent referred to those who held $100,000 or more in equities. We regret the errors.

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the weekly Standard

Put the Super Bowl on C-SPAN

Executives at MTV decided that 100 million Americans would want to watch onetime teen heartthrob Justin Timberlake violently expose the mutilated breast of the 40-ish rock singer Janet Jackson during the halftime show of last week's CBS's Super Bowl broadcast. We have no interest in disputing that judgment. Nor do we wish to gainsay the rap "artist" Kid Rock's testimonial to "hookers all trickin' out in Hollywood" during the same show. Nor would we hinder responsible adults from watching the crooner Nelly massage his crotch for several minutes. Nor would we be unhappy if the testimonials of Mike Ditka and others made penile impairment a thing of the past. Urging "immediate medical care" for those whose drug-induced erections perdure past four hours might even save lives. If you get a kick out of ads featuring pubic waxing and horses blowing farts in women's faces, laugh away.

But we believe CBS's decision to use a national sporting tradition to peddle all of the above to a fifth of American children under the age of 11 (by Nielsen estimates) ought to meet pitiless political resistance from the American public. Sports is among the joys of most American childhoods, so CBS knew that 6-year-old boys and 9-year-old girls would make up a large part of its most attentive viewers. But the network—or more to the point, its parent company Viacom, which owns MTV, too—lacked either the common courtesy or the business ethics to tell parents that their children were going to be roped into an evening of scatology and stripping.

Any civilized society recognizes that sex can be both a blessing and a weapon. In the interest of promoting the former aspect over the latter, parents—who lack the incentives that, say, large corporations have for inducing sexual dissatisfaction—are made responsible for preparing their own children for the difficult world of sex. This parental right over one's children's sexual education is what CBS decided to appropriate for itself—the better to sell them things when they turn 13 or 14. Whether Timberlake and Jackson revealed their plans to simulate sexual violence, television executives are not *naïfs* about capturing adolescents' disposable income by addicting children to television before the teen years. The kiddie audience was the point of this show. Viacom made a conscious decision to show children soft-core pornography for profit.

Michael Powell, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, has promised he will investigate CBS for indecency. For one thing, the FCC will issue subpoenas to see if Jackson is telling the truth about the accidental nature of her "costume reveal." If one of the principals at the NFL, MTV, CBS, or Viacom could be held accountable as the mastermind behind this imposture, we would be delighted. But we not only doubt there is a mastermind, we doubt that this investigation will have any effect whatever. The FCC defines indecency as "language or material that, in context, depicts or describes, in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community broadcast standards for the broadcast medium, sexual or excretory organs or activities." And as awful as the halftime show and the ads were, we think it's hard to call them awful "by contemporary community broadcast standards for the broadcast medium."

In fact, we're not sure there's any such thing anymore. The MTV executive who tried to explain the halftime show away by saying, "These were artists really down the middle of the youth culture," was not wrong. What is most objectionable about that show is not that Jackson's breast was revealed but that what was meant to arouse us was the simulated violence of Timberlake's tearing off her clothes. If this had failed to get a rise out of people, then perhaps next year there would have been a rape at the Super Bowl show, and the year after that a human sacrifice.

The idea that the humiliation of women is titillating appears to have been a big part of this Super Bowl's marketing philosophy. In one Bud Light commercial, a draught-horse loudly farts into the face of a woman who is about to make out with her boyfriend on a sleigh ride. Apparently the target drinkership of Bud Light consists of solitary onanists who fantasize about violence. *You may be too much of a loser to date this girl*, the message

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seems to be, *but you can still humiliate her!*

MTV network president Judy McGrath said she was horrified by how things turned out. Sort of. "I'm mostly horrified," she said, "at what I think would have been an entertaining, exciting great halftime show that ended so badly in five seconds none of us knew anything about." Well, now that McGrath *does* know something about it, what does she plan to do? Mum seems to be the word. Why doesn't CBS or MTV or Viacom apologize? Why don't they fire someone? Or discipline someone? Or *pretend* to discipline someone?

Because there is a "banality of obscenity" at work. These corporate ignoramuses have, at root, no clue what people are up in arms about, although they'll gladly apologize if you can convince them that people's objections will cost them money. Since they don't really believe they've done wrong, all their explanations come off as either euphemism, spin, or lying, meant to fend the yokels off. While executives referred to Jackson's strip act as a "costume reveal," Timberlake called it a "wardrobe malfunction." (Malfunction, how? Bras don't tend to have detachable cups. Jackson's did. It seems to have functioned perfectly.) "Songs that have sexual content are a long tradition in music," says MTV chairman (and apparently, cultural historian) Tom Freston. "You could make the case that the lyrics are sharper or rawer now." Yes, you could make Freston's case, too. If someone were paying you to.

Peter Steiner

McGrath doesn't understand well enough what's wrong even to put a brave face on the event. Not for her those alibis of porn merchants of yore, such as that "the breast is a thing of beauty." No—like Timberlake she is "sorry" only to the extent that her misdeed will cost her money or prestige. The same goes for everyone across the Viacom empire who's pronounced on this matter for an instant. As for the five-year-old girls across the country asking their fathers what erections are, no one even *pretends* to feel terrible about them. If there's been a misjudgment, it's not a moral misjudgment but a marketing misjudgment, and who could hold that against a guy?

You cannot make the American public, least of all its children, travel a gauntlet of pornography in order to celebrate what has become more or less a national holiday. Among the solutions that ought to be on the table as we discuss what to do about this calamitous spectacle is that of *nationalizing* the championship game. Prevail on the NFL to let any television station that wishes the right to do its own broadcast. That way, those who want a commentary-free version of the game can watch C-SPAN, those who want color commentary can watch one of the networks, and those who want a peep show can watch CBS.

Shame on Viacom that it disgraced the country in front of hundreds of millions of foreigners watching the Super Bowl for the first time (including in China). But shame on us if we permit them to do it again.

—*Christopher Caldwell, for the Editors*

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The Book on John Kerry

A look at the senator's 1971 antiwar opus, *The New Soldier*. BY DAVID SKINNER

HOW CONVENIENT that Douglas Brinkley's hagiographic *Tour of Duty: John Kerry and the Vietnam War* should be hitting bookstores just as Kerry's star ascends in the Democratic primaries. Less convenient, perhaps, is the fact that another Kerry book is getting hot right now: *The New Soldier*, published in 1971, for which Kerry shares authorial credit with the organization Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Hot not in sales—only a tiny number of copies seem to be around—but in price.

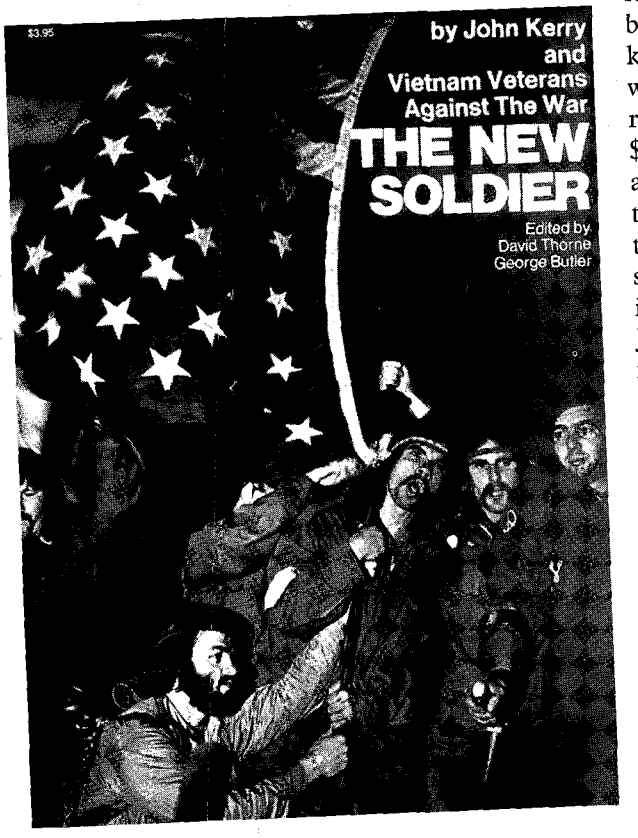
A signed first edition in mint condition is being offered on Alibris for $850. Other copies in varying condition have been on the auction block at eBay, none fetching less than $100. The book's rarity has led to speculation that Kerry systematically rounded up existing copies. When Newsmax did a story on the book last summer, they had to get their copy from a bookstore in Britain. But it may simply be the case that the book is rare because it was a dud that no one hung onto.

Hoping to learn why this vintage paperback photo book might be worth so much, I turned to the Library of Congress. The LOC catalogue lists two copies. It also lists a copy of Kerry's much-less-rare 1997 book, *The New War*, whose title suggests that Kerry, at least, had fond memories of his first book. (Attempting to master the literary output of a presidential candidate who's no Daniel Patrick Moynihan is my kind of journalism.)

Alas, the library could only produce Kerry's 1997 book. Returning my original call slip, the librarian said simply that no copy of the book could be located. Possibly, both copies were in the process of being reshelved, which can apparently take days. It could be missing, he shrugged, for "any number of reasons."

But, the librarian said, I could initiate a formal search for the book in alcove number seven. There I found a gentle, older man who invited me to sit down and fill out the paperwork at his desk. When I handed him the completed form, he said, "Someone else was just looking for the same book—yesterday." (I smelled a fellow journalist, or perhaps one of the other campaigns.) "They didn't fill out a form, though." (Lazy bum.) He looked up the title on his computer. "But there are two copies, so you can both read it."

How convenient both copies would be missing in action. As we go to press, the LOC catalog has one copy listed as "not charged" and the other as charged on "internal loan." (Kerry's Senate office, by the way, denies any knowledge of the book's whereabouts.) So I decided to resort to eBay, and for a mere $132.50 became the owner of an unsigned paperback edition. Its condition is "certainly not perfect," the seller said, but this book is "selling like hot cakes. . . . Get John Kerry to autograph it for you. It will immediately go up in value."



The New Soldier commemorates the April 1971 Vietnam Veterans Against the War march on Washington. Kerry, not a longtime member of the organization, had become its impresario earlier that year. The theatrical protests included a staged "search-and-destroy" mission on the steps of the Capitol and, infamously, soldiers, Kerry included, throwing their medals at the Capitol. Kerry got to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The protest played as a major event in the media and went down as an important moment in the history of the antiwar movement. Kerry's testimony was broadcast on National Public Radio. He made appearances on *Meet the Press* and the *Dick Cavett*

David Skinner is an assistant managing editor at THE WEEKLY STANDARD *and editor of* Doublethink.

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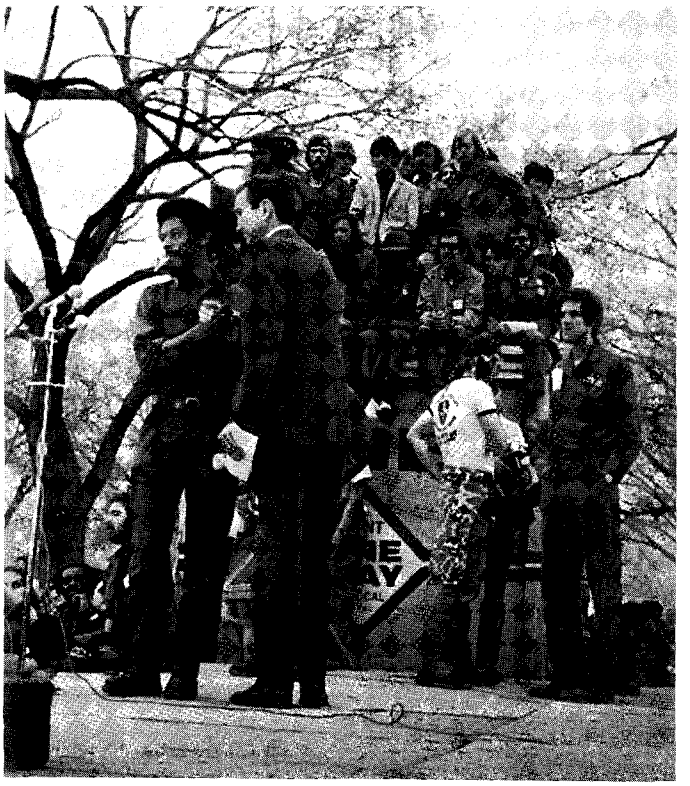
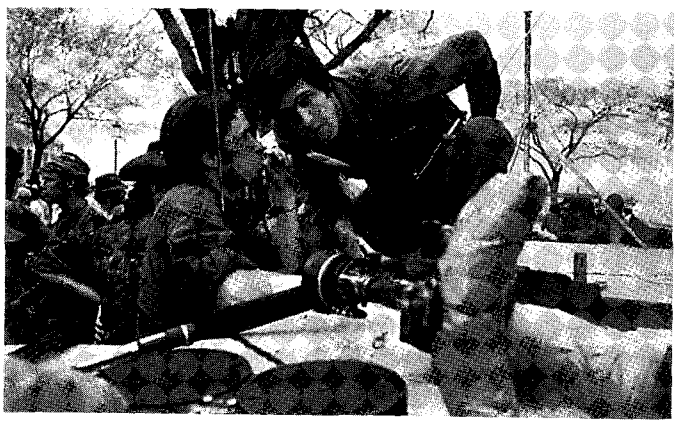
Show and was mocked for his self-promotional vanity by Garry Trudeau in his nascent "Doonesbury" comic strip. Depending on who you talk to, Kerry represented the moderate, respectable side of veteran protests (after all, he and VVAW were nonviolent and working within the system) or he was the slanderer responsible for the image of Vietnam veterans as either reluctant soldiers, ashamed of their service and angry at the United States, or vicious, misfit war criminals.

The New Soldier is a definite period piece. A dark photo of six soldiers planting an American flag, which is flying upside down, adorns the cover. The protesters camped out on the Mall that week (despite a cat-and-mouse permit dispute with Nixon's Interior Department), and it shows. One can almost smell body odor coming off the page. The VVAW guys are hairy men, many with *Easy Rider* mustaches. They appear ironic in their uniforms, toting toy machine guns. As they sit on the grass and eat in the open air, their faces grow dirty for lack of facilities.

Anti-Kerry oppo researchers will be disappointed to learn that Kerry wrote very little of the book. It reprints his Senate testimony and includes a brief afterword from him. But the bulk of its pictures and first-person narratives come from VVAW members. The idea for the march, according to Brinkley, was Kerry's, though it grew out of the VVAW's Winter Soldier project, in which Kerry played only a minor role. Along with radical chic royalty like Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, and supported by Sen. Eugene McCarthy and Fr. Daniel Berrigan, VVAW members met in Detroit and testified to atrocities they had committed or been witness to in Vietnam. Allegations included torture, intentional dismemberment, and gang rape (some excerpts are included in *The New Soldier*). The project operated under the thesis that American atrocities like the one at My Lai weren't highly unusual but reflected the routinely criminal exploits of American military leadership and soldiers.





Kerry at the April 1971 march, from The New Soldier

After Senator Mark O. Hatfield read the Winter Soldier testimony into the Congressional Record, he asked for an official investigation. When the Naval Investigate Service did just that, many of the veterans refused to cooperate (despite protections against self-incrimination). One soldier admitted that his testimony had been coached by members of the Nation of Islam; exact details of the atrocity he'd seen now escaped his memory. Several veterans hunted down by Naval investigators swore they had never been to Detroit and couldn't imagine who would have used their identities. (Somehow this episode was left out of the "Winter Soldier" chapter of Brinkley's book, but the details can be found in Guenter Lewy's *America in Vietnam* and in Mackubin Thomas Owens's account in the latest *National Review*.)

John Kerry seems to have had a way of eluding the bad odor that clings to his old associates. On *Meet the Press* in 1971, he appeared with VVAW member Al Hubbard, a veteran who was exposed around this time for lying about his rank and combat experience (he had seen no combat). While this confirmed suspicions about the dubious identities of many of the winter soldiers, it didn't keep Kerry from becoming famous. The young politician was able to have his cake and eat it, too, becoming the establishment, patriotic face of a radical, anti-patriotic movement. Quite a trick, really.

Now, if only I can get him to sign this book. ♦

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The Imminence Myth

What the Bush administration really said about the threat from Iraq. BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

THE *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, my hometown newspaper, unintentionally broke some news on its website last Thursday after Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet defended his agency in a speech at Georgetown University.

"In his first public defense of prewar intelligence, CIA Director George Tenet said today that U.S. analysts never claimed Iraq was an 'imminent threat,' the main argument used by President Bush for going to war."

I followed the debate over the Iraq war closely and wrote about it extensively. Yet somehow I missed what, according to the *Journal-Sentinel*, was the "main argument" for the war: an "imminent threat" from Iraq.

The Tenet speech got similar treatment in newspapers and on broadcasts throughout the country. But was this line—8 words out of the 5,400 he spoke—really the "gotcha" moment the media would have us believe? Hardly.

Here is what Tenet actually said, speaking of the October 2002 National Intelligence Estimate:

> *This estimate asked if Iraq had chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them. We concluded that in some of these categories Iraq had weapons, and that in others where it did not have them, it was trying to develop them.*
>
> *Let me be clear: Analysts differed on several important aspects of these programs and those debates were spelled out in the estimate.*
>
> *They never said there was an imminent threat. Rather, they painted an objective assessment for our policymakers of a brutal dictator who was continuing his efforts to deceive and build programs that might constantly surprise us and threaten our interests. No one told us what to say or how to say it.*

With the hundreds of stories over the past year about how CIA analysts were influenced and pressured to adjust their analyses to fit the Bush administration's political agenda, one might think the most important news from this passage was found in the last sentence. This is especially so since Tenet is the fourth person in the past two weeks to reject explicitly the allegations that politicized intelligence came from the CIA. The others: Iraq Survey Group head David Kay; former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Richard Kerr, the official tapped by Tenet to conduct an in-house CIA review of prewar intelligence; and Senator Pat Roberts, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, a panel that has just completed its own review of prewar intelligence.

It should not be terribly surprising or newsworthy even that the CIA never deemed Iraq an imminent threat. If analysts had seen an imminent danger, it's fair to assume that the president would not have taken 18 months to act to protect the nation.

"We've interviewed over 200 people, and not one person to date in very tough interviews has indicated any coercion or any intimidation or anything political," says Roberts, whose committee will be distributing its 300 pages of findings next week. "And that was also replicated or agreed to by Dr. Kay, who had 1,400 people under his command."

That conclusion was not terribly important to most journalists covering the speech. Instead, headlines screamed that Tenet's analysts had not concluded Iraq presented an "imminent threat," and the reporting implied that the CIA director's words somehow conflicted with the public case made by the Bush administration.

It's worth dwelling on that for a moment. It should not be terribly surprising or newsworthy even that the CIA never deemed Iraq an imminent threat. If agency analysts had ever concluded that an attack from Iraq was "about to occur" or "impending," to use the dictionary definition of imminent, it's fair to assume that they would have told the president forthwith, rather than holding the information for inclusion in a periodic assessment of threats. And the president would not have taken 18 months to act to protect the nation.

In fact, the case for war was built largely on the opposite assumption: that waiting until Iraq presented an imminent threat was too risky. The president himself made this argument in his 2003 State of the Union address:

> *Before September the 11th, many in the world believed that Saddam Hussein could be contained. But chemical agents, lethal viruses and shadowy terrorist networks are not easily contained. Imagine those 19 hijackers with other weapons and other plans—*

Stephen F. Hayes is a staff writer at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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this time armed by Saddam Hussein. It would take one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known. We will do everything in our power to make sure that that day never comes.

Some have said we must not act until the threat is imminent. Since when have terrorists and tyrants announced their intentions, politely putting us on notice before they strike? If this threat is permitted to fully and suddenly emerge, all actions, all words, and all recriminations would come too late. Trusting in the sanity and restraint of Saddam Hussein is not a strategy, and it is not an option.

It didn't take long for the media to get it wrong. One day after Bush said we must not wait until the threat is imminent, the *Los Angeles Times* reported on its front page that Bush had promised "new evidence that Saddam Hussein's regime poses an imminent danger to the world." Also, "Bush argued that use of force is not only justified but necessary, and that the threat is not only real but imminent." Exactly backwards.

Is this nitpicking? After all, there were occasions when, under badgering from the media about whether the threat was "imminent," administration spokesmen Ari Fleischer and Dan Bartlett responded affirmatively. And various administration officials described the threat as "grave" or "immediate" or "serious" or "unique" or "gathering." What's the difference? The administration clearly sought to communicate that Saddam Hussein posed a threat we could no longer tolerate.

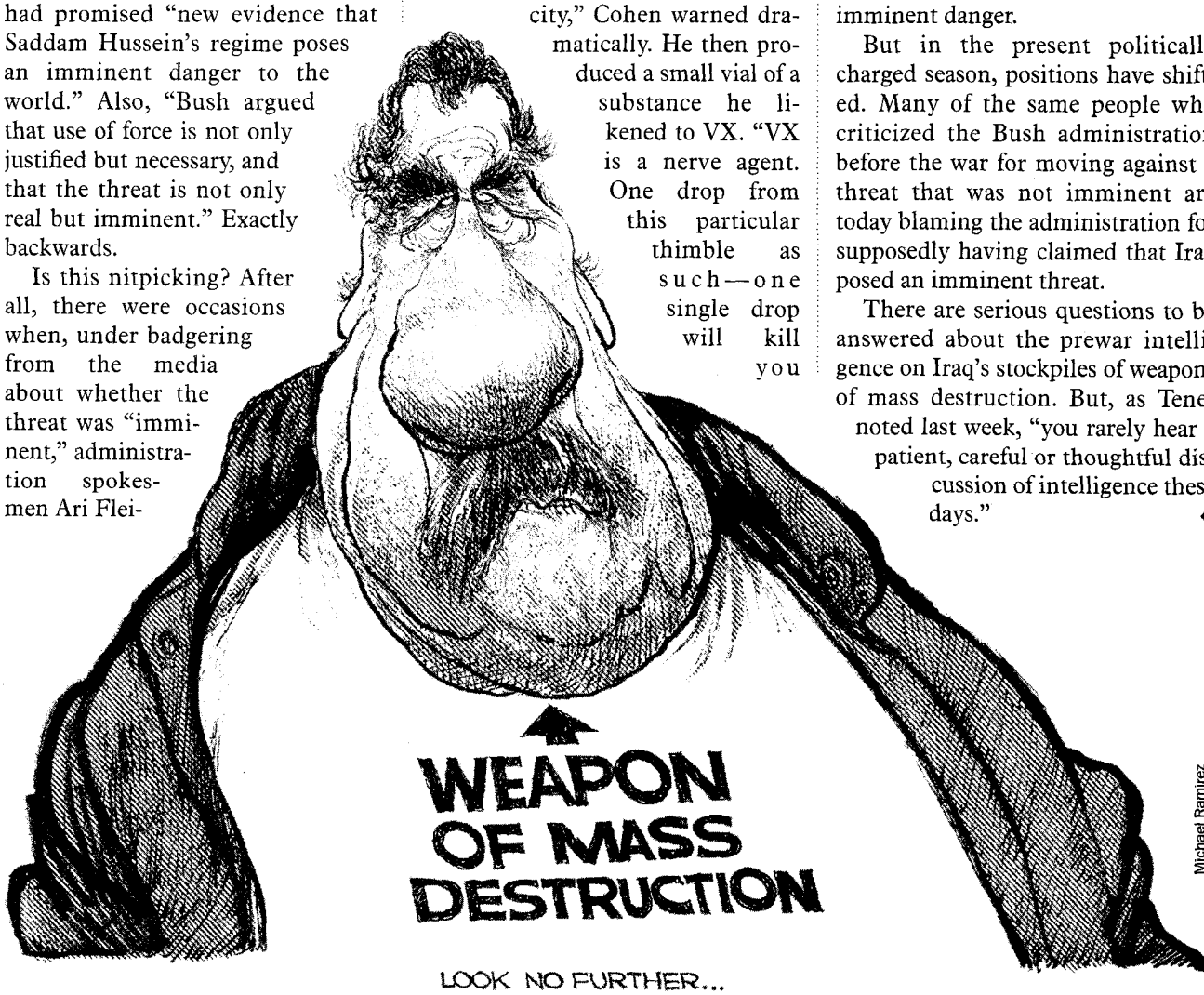
In doing so, of course, Bush administration officials were considerably less melodramatic than their predecessors in the Clinton administration. Who can forget then-Defense Secretary Bill Cohen's appearance on ABC's *This Week* on November 16, 1997, when he hoisted a 5 lb. bag of sugar onto the interview table. "This amount of anthrax could be spread over a city—let's say the size of Washington. It would destroy at least half the population of that city," Cohen warned dramatically. He then produced a small vial of a substance he likened to VX. "VX is a nerve agent. One drop from this particular thimble as such—one single drop will kill you within a few minutes."

In their prepared speeches, in the National Security Strategy, in media appearances, Bush administration representatives mostly avoided such hype. They did consistently advocate *preempting* the Iraqi threat—that is, acting *before* it was imminent. That's precisely what was controversial about their policy.

Senator Ted Kennedy, for one, objected. The day after the 2003 State of the Union address, he introduced a short-lived bill that would have required the administration to show that Iraq posed an imminent threat. It was the administration's willingness to go to war even while conceding that the threat was not imminent that provoked opponents of the war. Inspections could continue, the critics urged, because there was no imminent danger.

But in the present politically charged season, positions have shifted. Many of the same people who criticized the Bush administration before the war for moving against a threat that was not imminent are today blaming the administration for supposedly having claimed that Iraq posed an imminent threat.

There are serious questions to be answered about the prewar intelligence on Iraq's stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. But, as Tenet noted last week, "you rarely hear a patient, careful or thoughtful discussion of intelligence these days." ♦



Michael Ramirez

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The Great Divide

The 2004 race will pit a September 10 candidate against a September 12 president. BY FRED BARNES

GEORGE W. BUSH is a September 12 person. John Kerry is a September 10 person. The difference is real. A September 12 person was traumatized by the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. A September 12 person believes the world we thought existed before the attacks doesn't exist anymore. A September 12 person is convinced the world has fundamentally changed. A September 12 person favors a full-scale war on terrorism, including the use of military force for regime change in Iraq.

In contrast, a September 10 person was outraged by the attacks but not traumatized. A September 10 person thinks the world still exists as we perceived it before the attacks and thus hasn't fundamentally changed. A September 10 person regards the fight against radical Islamic terrorism as chiefly a matter of law enforcement and intelligence. Full-blown military engagement is not required.

The difference between the two types is significant politically as well as substantively. If September 11 and the war on terror are not salient issues in the campaign, Kerry benefits. To the extent they are, Bush gains. At the moment, Kerry has the upper hand. In the latest Gallup poll, terrorism is the fourth biggest worry of voters, trailing the economy, jobs, and anxiety over Iraq. And when voters in exit polls in Democratic primaries this year are asked which of six problems facing America is most important, it usually comes in sixth.

Absent an event that transforms terrorism into the paramount issue again, it will be up to Bush's campaign and the president himself to do so. Bush has already begun, devoting half his State of the Union address last month to terrorism and Iraq. In a speech last week in Charleston, South Carolina, he insisted September 11 "was a lesson for America, a lesson I will never forget and a lesson this nation must never forget. . . . I will not stand by and hope for the best while dangers gather," notably in Iraq. Republican strategists are confident September 11 and the war against terrorists can be rejuvenated as a major focus in the campaign. Democrats doubt it.

I've come up with five criteria for distinguishing between a September 10 person and a September 12 person. Kerry, the prohibitive favorite to win the Democratic presidential nomination, and Bush differ on all five.

The first is how seriously one views the terrorist threat. Kerry believes it's been exaggerated. At a debate in South Carolina in January, he said there's "a long list of clear, misleading exaggeration" by the Bush administration. Bush, however, believes terrorism dwarfs any other threat or problem facing the country. Bush said in his State of the Union address that defending America against terrorism is "our greatest responsibility." It's "tempting to believe that the danger is behind us . . . [but] the terrorists continue to plot against America and the civilized world."

The second criterion is the war in Iraq. A September 10 person believes the war is wrong, at least in the way Bush has carried it out. Kerry says it has detracted from what he calls "the real war on terrorism," which would concentrate on capturing Osama bin Laden. By invading Iraq without the approval of the United Nations and more allies, Bush "is not conducting the war on terror in a way that is the most effective way," Kerry said while campaigning in New Hampshire. The president, naturally, defends his decision to invade Iraq. The liberation of Iraq "was an act of justice [that] removed an enemy of this country and made America more secure," Bush said in Charleston.

Number three is the appropriate method of combating terrorism. Last October in a debate among Democratic presidential candidates, Kerry said: "This war on terror is far less of a military operation and far more of an intelligence-gathering, law enforcement operation, and the American people deserve somebody who can lead them to do it correctly and make us safer and stronger in the process." Bush says this policy was tried in the 1990s and failed to stop terrorist attacks on the United States. "After the chaos and carnage of September 11, it is not enough to serve our enemies with legal papers. The terrorists and their supporters declared war on the United States, and war is what they got," he said in the State of the Union speech.

Criterion number four: the Patriot Act, passed shortly after September 11. It gave the Justice Department new powers to combat terrorists in the United States. Kerry voted for it, but now claims "there have been abuses of that act" and says Attorney General John Ashcroft has "overreached" in applying it. Bush strongly backs the act as "a vital tool" in homeland security. By allowing the FBI and CIA to share information, the act helps "uncover terrorist plots before they are carried out in America," he said in Charleston. "Congress needs to extend the Patriot Act."

The fifth criterion: how frequently one raises September 11 in speeches and comments. Kerry practically never mentions September 11, except when asked about it. For Bush, it seems always on his mind. His standard speech at fundraisers

Fred Barnes is executive editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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refers to terrorists as having declared war on America. In the Charleston speech, which was nominally on cargo security, he mentioned the September 11 attacks four times.

Kerry's greatest vulnerability against Bush in the presidential campaign is his Senate record on national security. He proposed, for example, to cut the CIA budget by $1.5 billion. Then, post-September 11, he complained that American intelligence was inadequate. He has voted against both offensive and defensive weapons systems for the military. He has voted to cut the defense budget. The list of Kerry's anti-military, anti-CIA positions is a long one. But these won't matter particularly unless September 11 and the war on terrorism become the context for the presidential race. For now, battling terrorism seems merely one of several issues and not the most important of them. It's a political environment in which a September 10 person could be elected president. ♦

The Wrong Culprit

In stopping proliferation, the problem has been political will, not faulty intel. BY HENRY SOKOLSKI

BOTH ZEALOUS CRITICS and supporters of President Bush's war against Saddam seem finally to have agreed on one thing—the Central Intelligence Agency goofed. The president's own Iraq weapons sleuth, David Kay, now asserts that our intelligence on Iraq was simply wrong, that Saddam didn't have weapons of mass destruction in 2003. This intelligence failure must be corrected, it is argued, lest we make fresh mistakes against the strategic weapons programs in North Korea and Iran. Hence President Bush's announcement last week of a special panel to investigate our intelligence agencies' performance on Iraq.

Implicit in all this is a belief that our government cannot succeed in its fight against proliferation of WMD unless our information on other countries' covert weapons programs is dramatically improved. "Pristine intelligence—good, accurate intelligence—is a fundamental benchstone of any sort of policy of preemption to even be thought about," as David Kay said. This seems plausible. What serious policymaker would insist on getting less intelligence?

Ultimately, however, the clamor for more specific proliferation information is wrongheaded. Washington's problem isn't its sorry supply of good tactical intelligence on covert strategic weapons programs. Such intelligence has rarely been good and is unlikely to get much better. Instead, the challenge in nonproliferation has been the dearth of senior officials willing to respond to the generally sound strategic warnings our intelligence agencies produce years before any proliferation becomes a crisis. Far from heeding such warnings, policymakers often wish them away. This unwillingness to act on early intelligence warnings is the exact opposite of the problem everyone is now focusing on.

Our intelligence agencies have in fact never been very good at pinpointing specific proliferation activities. U.S. intelligence got cold-cocked by the Soviets' first nuclear test in 1949; by India's nuclear tests in 1974 and 1998; by Israel's nuclear weapons deception efforts in the 1960s; and by Iraq's, Iran's, Pakistan's, and North Korea's strategic weapons programs in the 1970s, '80s, and '90s. All these tactical intelligence failures, though, were predictable. Unlike monitoring conventional arsenals—military forces that are hard to hide and rarely worrisome unless they're quite large—tracking small (but more deadly) covert missile, nuclear, biological, and chemical programs is highly prone to error. That's why the spread of these latter capabilities is a much greater threat than the acquisition of more common military systems.

Trying to fix this intelligence weakness—the presumed aim of the Iraq intelligence investigations—may not be a fool's errand, but it's unlikely to succeed. Certainly, by the time our intelligence agencies could ever prove they knew exactly what other nations had in the way of strategic weapons capabilities and identified

Henry Sokolski is the executive director of the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center and editor, with Patrick Clawson, of Checking Iran's Nuclear Ambitions *(Army War College, 2004).*

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precisely where these capabilities were, the only options left to reverse what they had discovered would be to bomb or bribe—extreme measures neither of which is very attractive.

Washington has long grappled with this truth. In some cases, it has done well. With Taiwan's, South Korea's, and Ukraine's nuclear weapons aspirations and the large-rocket ambitions of Argentina, Iraq, Egypt, and South Africa, U.S. officials chose to act upon receiving the earliest strategic intelligence warnings. None of these countries completed the programs it began; all were quietly nipped in the bud.

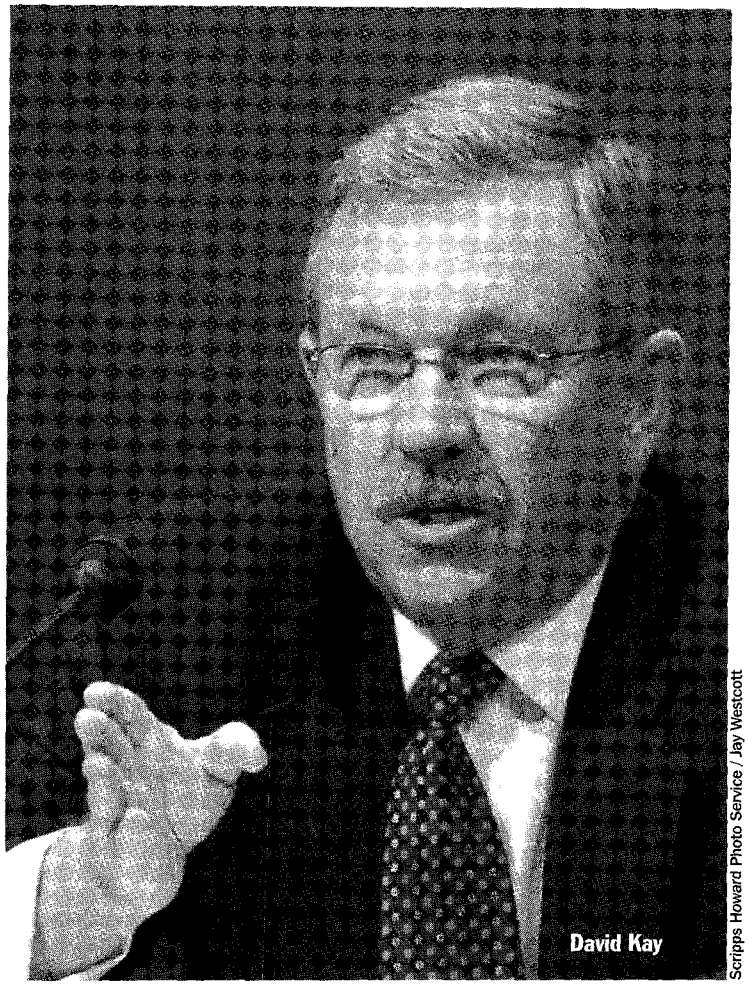
More often, though, U.S. officials have taken a more cowardly course, downplaying initial proliferation reports, especially when they involved nations Washington wanted to engage. Thus, U.S. officials were skeptical of the early intelligence that highlighted Israel's nuclear program in the 1960s, Iraq's and South Africa's nuclear weapons activities in the late 1970s, Pakistan's nuclear weapons efforts in the 1980s, and Iran's and North Korea's in the 1990s. Early evidence of China's, Russia's, and, more recently, Pakistan's illicit strategic assistance to these nations was similarly viewed with reservation.

This caution did little to encourage intelligence analysts tracking these proliferators. Thankfully, though, after 9/11, this reluctance receded: For the first time, a president publicly emphasized the desirability of acting against proliferators whenever and wherever practical. This helped put fighting proliferation back on the policy map, but it also had a downside: The increased interest in reporting proliferation developments focused attention on what little tactical information we had.

In the case of Iraq—a nation with a clear intent and history of acquiring and using strategic weapons capabilities and a persistent and annoying habit of openly defying U.N. inspections and dismantlement resolutions—policymakers and intelligence analysts leaned forward, emphasizing specifics that turned out to be wrong. Many of Saddam's strategic weapons capabilities, it now appears, were either dismantled in the early 1990s or bombed during Clinton's second term.

This gaffe is hardly good news, but it's not nearly as bad as Washington pundits are making it out to be. As they see it, the lesson to be learned (and, if we are not careful, to be driven home by the newly announced investigations) is that the United States must be more cautious in acting against proliferation, lest it repeat the Iraqi error. And what error was this? Attacking Saddam on the basis of insufficient proliferation intelligence.

Yet, surely, this was not our key mistake. Instead, it was waiting as long as we did to act against Saddam's strategic weapons ambitions and his hostility to us, the U.N., and his own population. We had abundant strategic intelligence on this, and had it for two decades or more, but we chose to ignore it. Instead, we actually supported Saddam financially and militarily and sent him the dual-use goods he needed to pursue his strategic weapons programs.


David Kay

Scripps Howard Photo Service / Jay Westcott

Had we taken a different course when the first intelligence reports emerged about his nuclear ambitions 25 years ago (and his subsequent military buildup), we might have been able to avoid not just one, but both wars we waged against him. The problem wasn't a lack of intelligence on Saddam's strategic weapons programs. It was a lack of will to use the sound strategic warnings we had.

Certainly, before investigations get underway and recommendations start flying to centralize our intelligence agencies further and spend ever more money on more layers of management and new sources of intelligence, we would do well to focus on our uneven use of accurate early warnings. In the end, knowledge of proliferation specifics is the least of our problems. ♦

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The Party of Lincoln

The legacy of the first Republican president.

BY LEWIS E. LEHRMAN

TO REASSESS ABRAHAM LINCOLN on his 195th birthday is to learn a lost truth: During much of his political career, Lincoln focused not on the moral issue of slavery but on economic policy. Yet slavery and economic policy were tightly linked in his worldview.

As Lincoln explained, slavery is grounded in coercion. In commercial terms, involuntary labor is theft. "The ant," he wrote, "who has toiled and dragged a crumb to his nest, will furiously defend the fruit of his labor, against whatever robber assails him. . . . The most dumb and stupid slave, that ever toiled for a master, does constantly *know* that he is wronged." Slavery differs from free labor as a beast does from a man. Thus, Lincoln assailed slavery on both moral grounds and economic principle. This principle, he asserted, is a truth "made so plain by our good Father in Heaven, that all *feel* and understand it, even down to brutes and creeping insects."

Lincoln's nationalist economics coincided with the policies of Alexander Hamilton. But we also hear in his speeches echoes of Thomas Jefferson. On his way to Washington, D.C., in early 1861, the president-elect declared in Philadelphia, "I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence." Seven years before, he had asserted, "*Most governments* have been based, practically, on the denial of the equal rights of men. . . . *Ours* began, by *affirming* those rights."

Lewis E. Lehrman is co-chairman of the American Security Project and a partner at the investment firm L.E. Lehrman & Company.

But only free labor can exercise equal rights. In 1864—bringing together the central ideas of Hamilton and Jefferson—President Lincoln explained to Ohio soldiers visiting the White House that the Civil War itself was a struggle to create "an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise, and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life." From the war issued the Emancipation Amendments—the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. This patrimony is the authentic heritage of the Republican party.

From the beginning, America has been different from other nations. Bound together neither by race and blood nor by ancestral territory, Americans inherit but a single legacy: equality under the law and equality of opportunity. Lincoln's equality was equality of opportunity. "I think the authors [of the Declaration] intended to include all men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects," he said in 1857. "They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness, in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal in certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

This is what the emancipator said, and this is what he meant. "We proposed to give all a chance; and we expected the weak to grow stronger, the ignorant, wiser; and all better, and happier together." And so, to be stronger and wiser, Americans have ever been ambitious, at home and abroad, for their liberal democracy. Lincoln, too, was ambitious for American liberal democracy. Indeed, he was history's most ambitious nation-builder, presiding as he did over our most profound war and the preservation of the American Union —the future hope of all liberal democracies. Lincoln's law partner, William Herndon, said Lincoln's ambition was "a little engine that knew no rest." So, too, may it be said of America.

Lincoln was ambitious to use government to good effect. Government, he said, should enable men and women to do the things they cannot do, or do so well, for themselves—in order to develop their freedom, their future, and their country. In his earliest political years, as a state legislator, Lincoln urged that government should be pro-labor *and* pro-business. During the decades before his presidency, he advocated government support for the creation of canals, railroads, banks, turnpikes, a national bank—all needed to integrate a national market—to the end of increasing opportunity, social mobility, and productivity.

Like Hamilton, the first secretary of the Treasury, and Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky, Lincoln championed an "American system." As an economic nationalist, he advocated a modest tariff to give the competitive advantage to American workers and American firms and to enhance the nation's independence. As a student of banking and monetary policy, Lincoln argued throughout his political career for a sound and uniform national currency.

His economic philosophy rejected the idea of necessary conflict between free labor and capital. Cooperation, he believed, could lead to economic growth and increasing opportunity for all. In fact, Lincoln argued that capital was itself the product of free labor, wrought by the mind and muscle of men. Thus, it followed that people were the most important resource. President Lincoln underlined this proposition in his first annual message to Congress in 1861, noting that

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"labor is prior to, and independent of capital. Capital is the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed."

Thus Lincoln defined the essence of the American dream. "There is not, of necessity," he declared, "any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. . . . The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself; then labors on his own account for awhile, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just, and generous, and prosperous system, which opens the way to all—gives hope to all, and . . . energy, and progress, and improvement of conditions to all." This right to rise is today the hope of a winning, and governing, Republican majority.

From his own hard struggle for success, Lincoln had developed tenacious convictions. Born poor, he was probably the greatest of truly self-made men, believing as he said that "work, work is the main thing." His economic policy was designed not only "to clear the path for all," but to spell out incentives to encourage entrepreneurs to create new jobs, new products, new wealth. Lincoln's America was, in principle, a colorblind America. "I want every man to have the chance," Lincoln announced in New Haven in March 1860. "And I believe a black man is entitled to it . . . when he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for himself afterward, and finally to hire men to work for him! That is the true system."

In Lincoln's American system, government fosters growth. Equal opportunity leads to social mobility. Intelligence and free labor lead to savings and entrepreneurship. This economic system was the counterpart of the Declaration's equality of inalienable rights, and both, properly understood, were colorblind. The great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass saw this clearly, pronouncing a fitting tribute when he said President Lincoln was "the first great man that I talked with in the United States freely, who in no single instance reminded me of the difference between himself and myself, of the difference of color between us." He attributed Lincoln's attitude to the fact that he and Lincoln were, in Douglass's phrase, self-made men.

President Lincoln's political and wartime legacy extends far beyond our shores. As a last resort, he accepted war to preserve the Union, and with the war, he initiated freedom for the slaves. Without the leadership and resolve of our 16th president—through four years and 600,000 deaths—separate slave and free states might today compete on the same continent, and American liberal democracy would have been stillborn.

Thus there would have been no single, integrated American economy based on free labor. Without the continental industrial power that Lincoln advocated, the means would not have been available to contain Imperial Germany as it reached for European hegemony in 1914. Neither would there have been a nation strong enough to destroy Hitler's Nazi Reich, or to counter the aggression of Imperial Japan, or, in the second half of the twentieth century, to oppose the Soviet Union. Empires antithetical to freedom, based on invidious distinctions of race and class—a defining characteristic of the malignant world powers of our era—were overcome by the force, leadership, and forward foreign policy of the United States.

This forward foreign policy of American liberal democracy—designed to vindicate our constitutional union, and to uphold the implicit hope of the Declaration of Independence that in time all people might be free—originated not with President Woodrow Wilson, but in the wartime statecraft of Abraham Lincoln. A private man, self-taught, who rose from obscurity and left no dynasty, he was an enigmatic character. Yet he remains singularly luminous in his grasp of our economic and political essence as a nation, as well as of our contribution to the world. ♦

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The Wreck of the BBC

How the mighty have fallen

By Gerard Baker

For the last week, much of Britain has borne witness to an outpouring of grief the like of which has not been seen since the death of Diana, Princess of Wales. When Baron Hutton of Bresagh, knight of the realm, Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, a hitherto rather inconspicuous retired member of the British supreme court, delivered his much anticipated report at the end of January on the death of Dr. David Kelly, a British government weapons expert, a collective howl of anguish went up from the well-upholstered parts of the media establishment.

Lord Hutton concluded that Tony Blair, the British prime minister, was not guilty of lying about the threat from Iraq's weapons of mass destruction when he made the case for war more than a year ago. Nor had he or his government "sexed up," in the immortal phrase, intelligence information about the nature of the Iraq WMD threat. The prime minister had been accused of both in a notorious report by the British Broadcasting Corporation that aired in late May 2003.

Nor, for good measure, declared Lord Hutton, had Blair improperly "outed" Dr. Kelly, the previously anonymous source for the report. Kelly's exposure led more or less directly to the scientist's suicide in July.

By contrast, Hutton's report found the BBC profoundly guilty. The original story by its reporter, Andrew Gilligan, that the government had deliberately inserted a false claim into a published document concerning Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction, was unfounded. Worse, the BBC had failed to ensure proper editorial procedures to prevent such an erroneous report from being broadcast. Then, without having properly checked the story, the BBC's management refused to back down from the report even though some of its own editorial staff were quietly expressing concern about its reliability.

Within hours of the publication of the Hutton findings, which amounted to a forensic flagellation of the entire editorial processes of the world's largest news organization, the two top figures at the BBC, its chairman and director general, resigned—one falling honorably on his sword, the other forced out by the board of governors.

Then, like a great keening at a funeral procession, the wailing began.

Grand public figures rose up as one to decry the verdict. Media panjandrums took to the airwaves and the newspapers to express outrage and intone gravely that Lord Hutton's report marked the beginning of the end of the right of free expression in Britain. One claimed to have felt physically sick at what the report would do for press freedom. A prominent news anchor for another TV network said he could not remember feeling more depressed. "There but for the grace of God go all of us," he wept.

Greg Dyke, the outgoing BBC director general, gone but anxious not to be forgotten, rounded on the judge and the government and said the judgment was a disgrace.

BBC staff coughed up five pounds a head to take out a full page ad in a national newspaper, insisting (the courageous jut of their jaw almost discernible through the newsprint) that they would do their best not to be deterred from bringing the public the truth.

The ranks of the stricken were not confined to the emoting British elite, at least if the BBC is to be believed. Its New York correspondent reported that he was overwhelmed at the outpouring of sympathy he had found on the streets of Manhattan.

"'Good luck,' said a colleague from a friendly U.S. network, squeezing my arm with a look of pity and concern in her eyes." This lonely but brave reporter went on to add, with the pure objectivity and balance for which the BBC is so renowned: "Arch skeptics here see it as just another victory for the ideology that drives the war on terror." He presumably meant to insert a hyphen before the word "skeptics," though the omission perhaps gave the statement its truer meaning.

The Hutton Report was, to read the British media, the Night of the Long Knives, the bonfire of the vanities, and

Gerard Baker is an associate editor at the Financial Times.

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the Cultural Revolution all rolled into one hideous assault on cherished press liberty.

If you live in the fantasy world of self-adulation and preening pomposity of high-powered liberal journalists, I suppose the aftermath of the Hutton Report might seem like that. But for those who have to toil in the less sensational world of reality, the unassuming 72-year-old peer may just have done the world one of the greatest services in the history of journalism and public broadcasting.

For Lord Hutton has exposed, from the pinnacle of independent judicial authority, the fatal flaws at the heart of the world's largest broadcaster. His report has confirmed what critics have argued for years: that the BBC, once one of the cultural treasures of the English-speaking world, has lost its way.

Even as it projects its unrivaled resources further around the globe, including the United States, where its news programs are now seen in millions of homes, and its entertainment channel, BBC America, advances on cable networks, its reputation for quality public service broadcasting and objective and fair news is sinking rapidly.

Its news is increasingly tinged by the corrosive liberal bias that permeates so much of the global media. Its reporters and editors share a worldview that would sit perfectly with the denizens of the *New York Times*, and they hold the same conviction that theirs alone is an objective account of the truth.

Its vaunted public service ethos, the tradition that over the years produced original and creative drama, entertainment, and comedy, has been traduced and subordinated to commercial ambition. It uses the vast resources it receives from a compulsory tax on everyone in Britain who owns a TV set to muscle out privately financed competitors.

And all the time, the BBC regards criticism or calls for accountability as acts of *lèse majesté*, a kind of high treason against a lovable old British institution ("Aunty," as the BBC is known) that merits the firm protection of the law. Critics are dismissed as promoting a political or financial agenda, of aiming to destroy the BBC so its commercial rivals might feed on its corpse.

But the David Kelly affair provided that rare moment when this vast, bloated organization's faults are laid bare for all but the most willing of the BBC's collaborators.

The details are these: Gilligan, an investigative reporter for the BBC, last May interviewed Dr. Kelly about the preparation of a document outlining Iraq's WMD capabilities produced by the British government in September 2002, as the Iraq debate was reaching its climax.

Gilligan subsequently reported that a senior British official closely involved in the drafting of the WMD document had told him the intelligence services were unhappy at the way Downing Street had exploited their intelligence for political purposes. Most explosively, this official is said to have told the reporter that Blair's official spokesman had insisted on inserting—against the wishes of the intelligence services—a finding that Saddam Hussein could launch weapons of mass destruction within 45 minutes.

We now know, however, thanks to Lord Hutton's inquiry, that (a) Kelly did not tell Gilligan the government deliberately conveyed false information about Iraq; (b) the intelligence service chiefs had themselves inserted the 45-minute claim, not Downing Street; (c) Kelly, though a genuine expert on Iraq's weapons, had no connection with the compiling of the WMD document; and (d) Kelly, far from being an opponent of the war, as was commonly inferred, was actually a fervent supporter of getting rid of Saddam Hussein.

None of that, sadly, was known at the time Gilligan aired his explosive report on May 29. Within a matter of days, this misrepresented allegation from an unreliable witness had metamorphosed into the conventional wisdom about the prime minister.

Tony Blair's reputation fell swiftly from that of co-liberator of the Iraqi people to liar and lackey of George Bush who could not persuade his country or his party to go to war against Iraq on honest grounds and so had resorted instead to a wicked distortion. Tens of thousands of British troops had been sent into battle on a falsehood.

As Blair himself told the Hutton inquiry last August, the report amounted to an "extraordinarily serious allegation which, if it were true, would mean we had behaved in the most disgraceful way and I would have to resign as prime minister."

Blair's approval rating plummeted. When Dr. Kelly committed suicide on July 17, the public verdict seemed to be that a man who had been valiantly trying to expose government wrongdoing and had been unmasked for his efforts had taken his own life.

The BBC, meanwhile, despite some qualms about the story, stood by it. Without bothering to check in detail with the reporter on his source, and without demanding to see his notes, the BBC launched a vigorous defense of the allegations. Even as the Hutton inquiry began its work, the fighting went on. The BBC insisted its story was right, and the government's problems mounted. Only last month, as Hutton's report sparked the crisis, did the BBC apologize for its errors. Probably too late to repair the damage to Blair.

Quite why this single story and its follow-ups had the capacity to inflict so much harm on the reputation of the prime minister might seem a puzzle to American readers.

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But the fact is that the BBC occupies a position in British public life quite unlike that of any media organization in the United States or, indeed, in the free world. It runs several TV channels, including two all-news services, and several all-news radio networks. It has two 24-hour global news networks. Its main news shows on TV and radio reach upwards of three-quarters of the British people every week.

What is more, with Britain's print media being politically partisan, the BBC's past reputation for impartiality has made it much more widely trusted than any competitor. Imagine the influence of the main American TV networks, PBS, CNN, Fox News, National Public Radio, the *New York Times*, and the newsweekly magazines all rolled into one and you have some inkling of the reach of this giant.

The Kelly story was not an isolated incident. It was merely the most infamous example of a left-liberal bias that refracts all news coverage through the prism of the BBC's own distinctive worldview.

The BBC's coverage of the Iraq war itself marked a new low point in the history of the self-loathing British prestige-media's capacity to side with the nation's enemies.

Its Middle East coverage is notoriously one-sided. Its pro-Palestinian bias is so marked that recently the London bureau chief of the *Jerusalem Post* refused to take part in any more BBC news programs because he believed the corporation was actually fomenting anti-Semitism. If anti-Americanism is on the rise in the world, the BBC can take a fair share of the credit; much of its U.S. coverage depicts a cartoonish image of a nation of obese, Bible-wielding halfwits, blissfully dedicated to shooting or suing each other.

Its suppositions are recognizable as those of self-appointed liberal elites everywhere: American power is bad; European multilateralism is good; organized religion is a weird vestige of unenlightened barbarism; atheism is rational man's highest intellectual achievement; Israel (especially Ariel Sharon) is evil; Palestinians (especially Yasser Arafat) are innocent victims; business is essentially corrupt, or at best simply boring; poverty is the result of government failure; economic success is the product of exploitation or crookedness. And so on.

This will be familiar to consumers of news in much of the United States. Liberal media bias is by now, fortunately, increasingly widely recognized. But the difference is that BBC bias is so much more powerful and much more pernicious because the BBC is still seen by viewers and listeners, in Britain and around the world, as objective. And when the BBC conveys its slanted views of the world, there is very little means of checking and correcting it.

I worked at the BBC for six years. I never saw a BBC journalist actively promote his own political agenda. Almost all were honest, hardworking men and women dedicated to reporting the truth as they saw it. The problem was that it was the truth as they saw it.

The sheer scale of the BBC means that "the truth as seen by the BBC" is what gets believed. Aunty is simply too big and too powerful for the modern media era. The BBC is, in fact, a curious vestige of pre-Margaret Thatcher Britain: a massive public monopoly, a Soviet-like bureaucracy accountable to no one. If you own a TV, your almost $200 a year goes into the BBC's coffers—irrespective of whether you watch it—and, yes, the BBC will prosecute you if you fail to pay up.

Who regulates this Leviathan among institutions, with a heft unrivaled in the world of journalism, entertainment, or anything else for that matter? You probably guessed. It regulates itself. Its board of governors, appointed by the government, does a good line in rubber-stamping virtually anything its management hands to it—the awful errors in the Kelly story being the most powerful example.

The Kelly affair speaks to another aspect of the BBC's iniquitous and growing strength. The problem was not simply the liberal biases of its journalists. The Kelly affair was the awful culmination of an aggressive strategy in recent years to cement the BBC's domination.

Greg Dyke, the director general forced out last month, a brilliant commercial TV executive before he joined the BBC, has dumbed down the news in pursuit of higher ratings. BBC News has become edgier, more sensational, more focused on making news rather than reporting it. The BBC has opened the doors and let the foul winds of British tabloid journalism waft through its stuffy halls.

All this is part of a grander design to encroach further into the field of commercial TV—to abandon its *raison d'être* of producing quality programs that were unprofitable, and instead leverage its enormous power and financial resources to take on all comers—in Britain and around the world.

The great virtue of Lord Hutton's devastating indictment is that it represented for the first time an independent verdict. The editorial failings it criticized, the tendentious reporting it identified, the massive bureaucracy it exposed, and the troubling strategic vision that underlay it all demand a radical change at the BBC, if the organization's reputation is to be restored.

The BBC has long been one of the world's most highly valued outlets for quality broadcasting. In unfree countries, it remains a lifeline and the exemplar of independent media. But Lord Hutton has exposed an institution whose power and influence are now matched by its arrogance and self-righteousness. The learned judge, it is to be hoped, has opened the way to a long-delayed revolution. ♦

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The Bush Doctrine Lives

The Kay findings point to its importance, not its demise

By Max Boot

> Nations and alliances should move early to deal with crises while they are still ambiguous and can be dealt with more easily, for delay raises both the costs and risks. Early action is the objective to which statesmen and military leaders should resort.
>
> —Wesley Clark, *Waging Modern War* (2001)

The most controversial part of President Bush's National Security Strategy, unveiled in September 2002, was its mention of preemptive action against "emerging threats before they are fully formed." This has been described by foreign policy mandarins as a diplomatic earthquake that has overthrown decades, if not centuries, of devotion to the doctrines of containment and deterrence. Iraq was widely seen as the test case of this "radical," uniquely "neoconservative" approach.

Now that the occupation of Iraq is approaching the one-year mark, with still no chemical, biological, or nuclear stockpiles found, but plenty of Americans and Iraqis getting killed, learned commentators are proclaiming that the preemption doctrine has disappeared as thoroughly as Iraq's supposed weapons of mass destruction. As early as last summer, Morton Abramowitz, a respected former ambassador and assistant secretary of state, wrote in the *Washington Post*, "Preemption policy toward 'rogue states' has been eroded." Now, in the *Australian*, Gideon Rose, managing editor of *Foreign Affairs*, writes, "The Iraq mission is . . . likely to be the first and last example of preemption in action."

In light of David Kay's report that prewar U.S. intelligence about Saddam's WMD "was all wrong, probably" and various other embarrassments suffered by the Bush administration, as well as the continuing deaths of American soldiers, these arguments cannot easily be dismissed.

Max Boot is Olin senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is a contributing editor to The Weekly Standard *and a weekly columnist for the* Los Angeles Times.

In fact Kay himself says, "If you cannot rely on good, accurate intelligence that is credible to the American people and to others abroad, you certainly cannot have a policy of preemption." But rumors of the death of preemption are much exaggerated.

In the first place, preemptive war—or even preventive (some say preventative) war where no threat is imminent—was hardly invented by the Bush administration. It has long been an accepted option not only for the United States, but for other nations as well. In his new book, *The Breaking of Nations*, Robert Cooper, a career British diplomat who is now a senior European Union official, writes that "the War of the Spanish Succession, fought to ensure that the crowns of France and Spain were not united . . . was a preventative war. No one attacked Britain; but if Britain had allowed the two countries to unite it would by then have been unable to deal with an attack from the resulting superpower."

You don't have to reach back to the 18th century for instances of preventive military action. In 1962 the Kennedy administration seriously considered a military strike to take out the Soviet missiles in Cuba, even though it was highly unlikely they would ever be fired against the United States. Kennedy wisely refrained from launching World War III, but he did undertake a naval blockade (he called it a "quarantine"), which is regarded under international law as an act of war.

Recent U.S. history is replete with smaller-scale instances of preventive action, from the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 to the invasion of Grenada in 1983. In neither case had there been a direct attack on the United States; the threats being addressed (the rise of communism in the Dominican Republic, the cultivation of Grenada as a Soviet and Cuban base) were largely speculative, and many critics charged that they were being blown out of proportion. But Presidents Johnson and Reagan, respectively, thought the dangers grave enough to risk American lives.

More recently, in 1993-94, the Clinton administration

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seriously considered launching a war to prevent North Korea from acquiring nuclear weapons. Clinton didn't act that time, but in 1998 he did launch strikes against al Qaeda training bases in Afghanistan, a pharmaceutical factory in Sudan, and various Iraqi military installations. The attack on Afghanistan might be seen as a punitive strike since it came after al Qaeda had bombed two U.S. embassies in Africa. But the Sudan strike was mainly preemptive. As recounted by former National Security Council staffers Daniel Benjamin and Steve Simon in their book *The Age of Sacred Terror*, the pharmaceutical plant was targeted because it was suspected of making chemical weapons for al Qaeda. National Security Adviser Sandy Berger said he wanted to take it out before nerve gas showed up on the New York City subway.

The Clinton administration launched another preventive war the following year by attacking Serbia in cooperation with its NATO allies. When the military operation started, the ethnic cleansing of Albanian Kosovars was only just beginning. The NATO action, as Gen. Wesley Clark later testified, "was designed to *preempt* Serb ethnic cleansing and regional destabilization" (italics added). We are today keeping thousands of soldiers in Bosnia and Kosovo, not because there is a war going on but to avert another war from breaking out.

Yet many pundits argue with a straight face that the Bush administration invented preemption. What the Bushies did is simply bring out into the open and make explicit what had been implicit all along: "To forestall or prevent . . . hostile acts by our adversaries," in the words of the National Security Strategy, "the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively." It may be argued that it was unwise to turn what had been de facto into de jure policy. There is no question that, with its bold declaration, the National Security Strategy has alarmed much of the world and some of the American public. It's given rise to nightmare scenarios in which the United States goes around, willy-nilly, invading countries on trumped-up charges and other countries, too, invade their neighbors under the banner of preemption.

The fact that neither has come to pass since the Iraq war last year is hardly proof that such fears are unfounded, but it does, at the very least, indicate they are overblown. India isn't about to nuke Pakistan, claiming a right of preemption. Nations take life-or-death decisions based on their own circumstances, not on what the United States does. The National Security Strategy has not shredded international law or age-old norms of international conduct. The exact conditions that applied in the war on Iraq—a decade-long history chockfull of instances where Saddam broke promises and violated international law—do not apply elsewhere, which helps explain why Bush targeted Iraq and not other rogue states like Iran or North Korea (or Pakistan or Saudi Arabia).

The alarm created by the Bush Doctrine is not entirely a bad thing. It's not only our friends who are worried. So are our enemies. This helps explain Muammar Qaddafi's sudden willingness to give up his WMD arsenal, lest he too wind up in a spider hole trying to evade Delta Force. This may also explain the Iranian mullahs' willingness to accept greater international scrutiny of their nuclear program.

How does this balance out? Do the deterrence benefits of preemption outweigh its public relations costs? Does the image of strength that America projects in the Middle East offset the image of lawlessness that America projects in Europe? At this point it's impossible to say. But whether or not American leaders continue to trumpet a policy of preemption (Bush did not mention it last month in his State of the Union address), it will remain in the presidential toolkit because there is no other plausible alternative for dealing with the mega-dangers we now face. To quote Robert Cooper again: "It would be irresponsible to do nothing while even one further country acquires nuclear capability. Nor is it good enough to wait until that country acquires the bomb. By then the costs of military action may be too high. Hence the doctrine of preventative action in the U.S. National Security Strategy."

But what about the costs of preventive action? Aren't they also too high, as numerous critics of the Iraq war assert? Again, it's impossible to say, because we don't know what would have happened had Saddam Hussein remained in power. It's possible that the policy of containment would have worked, but it seems unlikely. Remember that containment was failing before Bush came into office. Russia, France, and other countries that would sing the joys of sanctions as an alternative to military action in 2002-03 were strongly lobbying, before military action was on the table, to relax or lift sanctions altogether. And the United States and Britain likely would have gone along at some point, if only because the costs of containment were so high. Containment kept tens of thousands of troops surrounding Iraq and dozens of warplanes patrolling the no-fly zones. It also meant conniving in a policy under which the Iraqi people were starved of milk and medicine even while Saddam continued to build all the palaces his sick heart desired. The "oil-for-palaces" program, as one military wag dubbed it, was not a sustainable long-term policy, morally or politically. Something had to give.

Based on what we now know, Saddam had kept at least the nucleus of his WMD program intact, waiting for the day when world attention would wander and he

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would be free to rebuild his fearsome capacity. According to David Kay's testimony, he was concentrating on developing long-range missiles, in the expectation that warheads would come later. The fact that his nuclear program was less advanced than was commonly believed does not mean he was harmless. As the examples of Iran, Libya, and North Korea demonstrate (all instances where the CIA underestimated WMD development), it is distressingly easy these days to buy nuclear-weapons technology on the black market. Given Iraq's oil wealth, if sanctions had been relaxed, Saddam Hussein would have had the financial resources to become a nuclear menace overnight—as he had almost succeeded in doing before the 1991 Gulf War. It would have been irresponsible of President Bush not to act. (Incidentally, Bush is pilloried by Democrats for not acting on much sketchier evidence before the attacks of September 11.)

None of this is meant to excuse the intelligence lapses that occurred before the war or the nation-building lapses that occurred afterwards. Both are real problems. Bush's commitment to launch an independent probe is a good sign. The United States desperately needs to improve its intelligence and peacekeeping capabilities, though it must be said that no intelligence agency or nation-building bureaucracy could possibly achieve the level of prescience demanded by America's critics. In particular, if as David Kay suggests, Iraqi generals and possibly even Saddam Hussein himself were fooled by corrupt scientists into thinking that they had WMD, how was the CIA supposed to conclude otherwise?

Still, the criticisms of Bush, Cheney, Powell, Rumsfeld, et al., for their prewar claims regarding weapons of mass destruction carry a good bit of sting. The American public and especially other nations may well be wary, absent ironclad proof of a sort that rarely exists, about accepting a future administration's claims that another nation poses a WMD or terrorist threat. This, however, remains mainly a theoretical danger since, for now at least, there is a considerable degree of unanimity between America and its major allies that both Iran and North Korea pose unacceptable risks of nuclear proliferation. Bush has had no problems in getting 10 allies, including Germany and France, to join the Proliferation Security Initiative aimed at forestalling such dangers—another relatively unheralded example of preventive action.

Which is not to say that Bush could get Germany and France to agree to an invasion of Iran or North Korea, even if he were so inclined, which he's not. Yet the fundamental reality is that failed states and rogue states are the biggest challenges faced by the West in the post-Cold War era. There is no reason to think that either deterrence or sanctions are sufficient to deal with these threats. That leaves preemption—a policy urged by no less an authority than Wesley Clark before his foray into politics. Obviously, if the only thing preemption can mean is an Iraq-size occupation, it is not an option that can be hauled out very often. But what if preemption is understood to include military strikes, coalition occupations, and political/diplomatic action?

Many critics and even some supporters of the Bush administration have fostered the illusion that preemption means large-scale *military* actions on the model of Afghanistan or Iraq, period. This is not what the Bush administration itself intends. While preemptive military action has received all the attention, it actually forms only a small part of Bush's National Security Strategy. Just look at the chapter headings of the strategy: "Champion Aspirations for Human Dignity," "Strengthen Alliances to Defeat Global Terrorism and Work to Prevent Attacks Against Us and Our Friends," "Work with others to Defuse Regional Conflicts," "Prevent Our Enemies from Threatening Us, Our Allies, and Our Friends with Weapons of Mass Destruction," "Ignite a New Era of Global Economic Growth through Free Markets and Free Trade," "Expand the Circle of Development by Opening Societies and Building the Infrastructure of Democracy," "Develop Agendas for Cooperative Action with the Other Main Centers of Global Power," "Transform America's National Security Institutions to Meet the Challenges and Opportunities of the Twenty-First Century."

Many of these priorities—in particular, expanding capitalism and democracy—are "preemptive" in the broadest sense: They are intended to transform other societies so they will not threaten us in the future. This is not just lofty rhetoric. As seen from Bush's continual harping on the need to spread democracy to the Middle East, the president views this as a major priority, because he understands that catching terrorists isn't enough. We need to stop new recruits from joining the terrorist cause. This is the kind of preemption that should have the widest possible support not only from the president's usual backers but also from Democrats and the French.

Specific actions to push regime change in places like Iran and North Korea are far more controversial. But, whatever happens in Iraq, the United States retains a host of options when it comes to advancing the cause of freedom in nonmilitary ways—by supporting political dissidents, stepping up radio and television broadcasts, and using economic and diplomatic pressure to undermine totalitarian regimes. In other words, the sort of strategy we pursued against the Soviet Union during the Cold War. That policy was hardly limited to passive

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"containment," as some revisionists now claim. Ronald Reagan waged political, economic, and moral warfare on the "evil empire," and even sponsored proxy wars, but he prudently refrained from direct military attacks. His is a preemptive strategy we can and should apply around the world today.

Timely intelligence about WMD programs in other countries is not strictly essential to this policy. We should aim to hasten the demise of the regimes of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and Kim Jong Il because those regimes' very existence threatens the people of those countries, neighboring states, and, indirectly, the United States, regardless of their precise current chemical, biological, or nuclear capacity. The regimes themselves are weapons of mass destruction. If this policy had been carried out a little more aggressively before 2003—if George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush had provided more support to anti-Baathist Iraqis—an invasion of Iraq might never have been necessary.

Of course military action can never be ruled out, not least because the very threat of armed intervention makes our diplomacy much more potent. But military action doesn't have to mean hundreds of thousands of troops garrisoning a state for decades. The Israelis showed in 1981, when they bombed Saddam Hussein's Osirak nuclear reactor, how effective a pinprick strike can be. If the Israelis hadn't acted, the world would have faced a nuclear-armed Iraq when Saddam invaded Kuwait in 1991. Unfortunately, various rogue states have taken note of the Osirak example and have taken pains to shield their WMD facilities from air strikes. But during the past two decades the American military's targeting capabilities have advanced immeasurably. The Osirak option remains viable, especially if coupled with a limited insertion of ground troops to direct the airstrikes and oversee the eradication of the suspect facilities.

We should aim to hasten the demise of the regimes of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and Kim Jong Il because the regimes themselves are weapons of mass destruction.

Special Forces, with or without airstrikes, form another powerful tool to be used against our foes. They are in fact hunting suspected terrorists around the world every day. Not even John Kerry could possibly disagree with this example of preemption.

What about full-scale occupation and nation-building? Is this off the table after Iraq? By no means. In the first place the utility of this option might seem very different in a few years' time if, knock on wood, Iraq becomes a functioning democracy. In the second place, the trend toward international occupations of failed states started long before Iraq. Since the end of the Cold War, Cambodia, Somalia, East Timor, Haiti, Kosovo, Bosnia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, the Solomon Islands, and Afghanistan have been occupied for varying lengths of time by foreign peacekeepers. Western countries, including the United States, have no choice but to try to restore some semblance of order in these failed states, lest their problems give rise to WMD development, terrorism, contagious disease, or refugee flows. The trick is to intervene in such a way that the United States doesn't wind up shouldering a disproportionate share of the costs, as it has in Iraq. The obvious answer—easy to formulate, hard to execute—is to build more of an international consensus behind such interventions. This may not have been possible in the case of Iraq, since Gerhard Schröder and Jacques Chirac were dead set against military action, but it should be more doable in other instances.

In the January/February issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter argue for revising international law—which currently respects national sovereignty above all—to create an obligation for outside intervention should a state commit crimes against humanity, develop WMD, or shelter terrorists. They argue that "the biggest problem with the Bush preemption strategy may be that it does not go far enough," because it doesn't advocate a global "duty to prevent" wrongdoing.

These aren't the ravings of crackpots, warmongers, or neocons. Feinstein served in the Clinton State Department and today is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. Slaughter is dean of Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and president of the Society of International Law. They're both liberals, but they realize there is an overwhelming imperative for "early and effective collective action" when "faced with the prospect, as in Iraq, of a brutal ruler acquiring nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction."

Here's a counterintuitive possibility: The Iraq war, by showing the limits of national sovereignty, may wind up expanding preemptive interventions rather than extinguishing them. Sure, this is speculation. But while it may be premature to suggest that the ideas advocated by Feinstein and Slaughter will become reality, it's no more premature than claiming that preemption is finished. In all likelihood, it's only just begun. ♦

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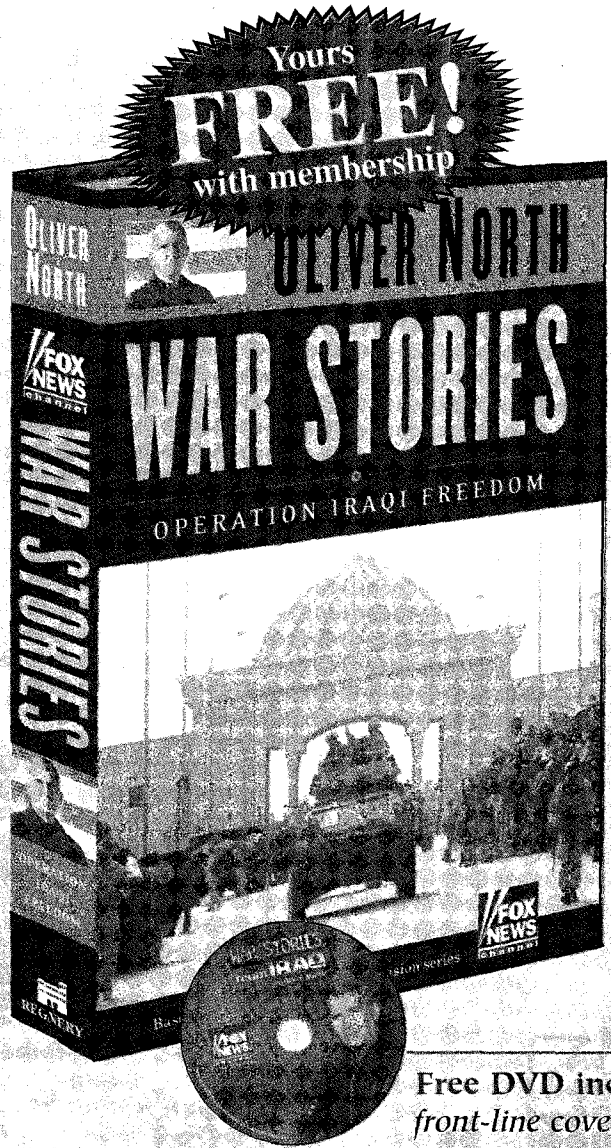
On the ground in Iraq with Oliver North



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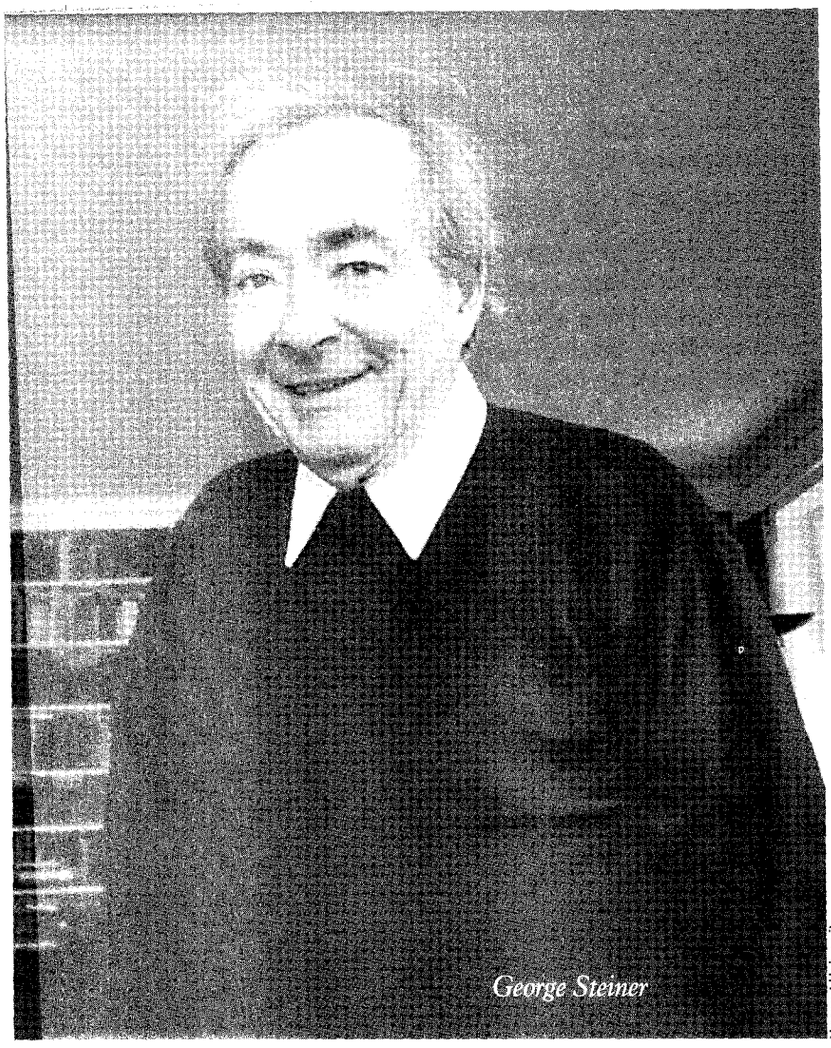
Curious George

The pseudo-profundity of George Steiner

By JOSEPH EPSTEIN



George Steiner

Harvard University

In the world of intellectual journalism, George Steiner has always been a figure of controversy. No one who reads him seems to be neutral about him, with opinion divided between those who think his range of learning and power of dramatizing ideas astonishingly brilliant, and those who think him a fake of astounding portentousness and pomposity. Judgments about him are made even more complicated by the fact that he has been the victim of English academic anti-Semitism, colder and more disdainful than which civilized Jew-hating does not get.

Steiner is a writer who has always come on high, toweringly high. His first book, *Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky* (1959), set the tone for his unremitting highbrowism. For many years he moved the heavy mental lumber for the *New Yorker*, reviewing works on Walter Benjamin, Franz Kafka, and Paul Célan, bringing his taste for the abyss to that otherwise lighthearted journal. *Men in Dark Times*, the title of a collection of Hannah Arendt essays, is a phrase that provides a rubric for Steiner's own intellectual proclivities. If one is looking for a fifth horseman of the Apocalypse, Steiner is your man. I once, in pri[illegible] to Harold Bloom as George Steiner without the sense of humor, which was, as Senator Claghorn used to say, "A joke, I say, that's a joke, son," because more humorless than Steiner human beings do not come.

I find myself unable to resist reading George Steiner, these days more often than not in the London *Times Literary Supplement*, where he is still doing his men-in-dark-times number. His is one of the tightest acts of our day. My friend Edward Shils once gave me a most useful clue to the best way to read Steiner. He claimed that many years ago he read a splendid parody of Steiner's of the way a Soviet *apparatchik* thought. Steiner, he felt, was a marvelous mimic. And so, I have come to see, he is. What George Steiner has been doing, over the past forty or so years, is an incomparable impression of the world's most learned man.

Lessons of the Masters
by George Steiner
Harvard University Press, 185 pp., $19.95

The performance is near flawless. If you don't take him too seriously, it's great fun to watch his by-now patented moves, feints, operatic touches. Rounding off paragraphs in *Lessons of the Masters*, his recently published Charles Eliot Norton Lectures on the relation between teachers and students, Steiner writes, "Here, too, the finale of the *Tractatus* is pertinent," or "Are there in this model ironized versions of Orphic or Pythagorean doctrines?" or, after a reference to Plotinus, "The phenomenon will recur in Wittgenstein's coven." Adumbrations like that one does not run into every day.

Steiner's pretensions are to polymathy. He claims just about all knowledge as his province. His reading is three stages beyond omnivorous—although he might admit, on the rare occasion, to a bad conscience over not reading an eight-volume history of the French Revolution (by Georges Sorel)

Joseph Epstein is a contributing editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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that you had not hitherto known existed. He is multi-, he sometimes suggests omni-, lingual. He'll talk Boolean Algebra with you, fourth-level composers, and, in this book, even Knute Rockne, the great Notre Dame football coach, a high proportion of whose players, he informs readers of *Lessons of the Masters*, went on to become major coaches at Notre Dame and elsewhere. Whether he knows all he claims to know in any genuine depth, or is instead a high-level *kibitzer*, is difficult to say.

That Steiner is not a more powerful or highly valued critic has to do with his want of originality. He generally deals with material at the second or third hand, writing most frequently about what this writer said about that writer. He enjoys tracing literary and philosophical influences—always a dubious enterprise—making connections across centuries, sometimes millennia. "Is it likely that," Steiner writes, in a sentence only he could have cobbled together, "Henry Adams was unacquainted with Julius Langbehn's immensely influential identification of artistic eminence and national destiny in *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (*Rembrandt as Educator*), a tract which focuses also on the 'teutonic, titanic' role of Beethoven?"

At one point in his text Steiner refers to "mandarin ostentation" and at another he remarks upon using an "orotund flourish" deliberately. But without mandarin ostentation and orotund flourishes, Steiner's prose would not exist and he himself would be out of business. Nearly every sentence he indites contains the title of a book, the name of the author, an -ism, or an -ology, foreign phrases, and plenty of quotation marks to go round. "Relations with Taoism and Confucianism will be those of rivalry and reciprocal insemination," is a fairly standard Steinerian sentence. Dramatic, slightly surprising juxtapositions are another specialty at Chez Steiner, so that we get "penetrative tenderness," "ironized topography," "incandescent intellectuality," and more, lots more. Things that are not iconic tend to canonic, and a vast number of things are "seminal." Steiner, one begins to feel after reading him for many years, greatly underrates the power of semen.

The *Lessons of the Masters* is a book about the teaching transaction, the dissemination (there's that damn fluid again) of knowledge as it is passed from generation to generation through teacher to student. Why do some teachers so captivate their students that what they convey leaves a lifelong impression? The standard explanations hold that the great teachers know their subject, have boundless passion for learning, widen and deepen consciousness, provide in their persons a model of how a great-souled person ought to

Igor Makarov

A caricature of Tolstoy by Igor Makarov

live. This only leaves out the key element of magic—which is to say, the unexplainable reason for why some teachers can radically change lives.

Over the course of 185 dense pages George Steiner does not really explain the magic in teaching. Instead he provides partial portraits of some famously great teachers—Socrates (of course), Jesus, the Hasidic masters, Heidegger, Alain, Nadia Boulanger, and others—and takes up a number of issues, questions, and problems surrounding teaching. Among these are the responsibility of teachers for disciples, the tensions (erotic, rivalrous, etc.) between teacher and student, the differing nature of humanistic and scientific teaching, the blights of sexual harassment and political corrections on contemporary teaching, and the increasingly large role of masterly female teachers.

Steiner, who reports that he has former students on five continents, claims to have loved teaching, and now feels himself orphaned and bereft in retirement from the classroom. He is said to have been a mesmerizing lecturer. My guess is that his revved up language comes across better orally than on the cold page, where it may be scrutinized more carefully for emptiness and laughs. Of the experience of teaching a doctoral seminar in Geneva for twenty-five years, Steiner, with characteristic overstatement, remarks that this was "as near as an ordinary, secular spirit can come to Pentecost." He then pulls out one of the two great clichés used by teachers to describe their experience: "By what oversight or vulgarization should I have been paid to become what I am? When, and I have felt this with sharpening malaise, it might have been altogether more appropriate for me to pay those who invited me to teach?" In other words, he would have done it for nothing. (The other standard teaching cliché has to do with how much a teacher has learned from his students.)

I recently closed down a university teaching career of thirty years, and I would like to go on record as saying that I wouldn't have done it for a penny less. Teaching is arduous work, entailing much grinding detail and boring repetition—a teacher, it has been said, never says anything once—interrupted only occasionally by moments of always surprising exultation. And I should like to add that I don't think I learned a thing from my students, except that, as one student evaluation informed me, I tend to jingle the change in my pocket.

So high does Steiner come at things, so greatly does he dramatize (and self-dramatize) ideas and all experience, that one may lose sight of the fact that he is himself a very considerable clichémeister. Most of his clichés, of course, come from books. One finds little evidence in Steiner's writing that he knows either man or life. T.S. Eliot

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once said of Henry James that he had a mind so fine no idea could violate it. Steiner's is a mind that seems to have been violated by just about every idea he has encountered.

One in particular that plays through *Lessons of the Masters* is the ample "homoerotic" element in the teacher-student relationship. (Steiner doesn't neglect to emphasize that the relationship can also be Oedipal, but let's let that go, for it is probably best to take up only one cliché at a time.) "In the Platonic Academy or Athenian gymnasium, in the Papuan long house, in British public schools, in religious seminaries of every hue, homoeroticism has not only flourished but been regarded as educative." (Hope you picked up on and enjoyed that lilting reference to the "Papuan long house.") The homoerotic element in teaching derives from the statements and conduct in the *Symposium* of Alcibiades, who attempts (with no luck) to seduce Socrates, illustrating the attraction of the beautiful student to the physically unattractive teacher.

Plato, of course, tended to eroticize a great deal, but I wonder if the sexual component in teaching generally isn't vastly overstated. As a student I felt admiration for a small number of my teachers, and as a teacher I found my heart going out to certain of my students, but on neither side of the transaction, as student or as teacher, that is in the role of beauty or of beast, did it occur to me to hop in the sack with anyone. Hannah Arendt may have slept with her teacher Heidegger, and then returned to his bed much later, but Hannah Arendt, however brilliant she may have seemed as a writer, was a woman of consistently poor judgment outside of books.

Steiner touches on the question of discipleship but does not go deeply into why some teachers want disciples and some are uninterested in them. He makes only a single mention of F.R. Leavis, the Cambridge don who cultivated followers such that, from the 1950s through the 1970s, one spoke of "Leavisites" with supreme confidence that everyone in lit biz knew what one meant. Steiner touches on Leo Strauss, by way of a mention of Saul Bellow's novel *Ravelstein*, but does not go into the phenomenon of the Straussians, a school of political philosophy now in its fourth generation of disciples. An investigation of the school of Strauss, as Steiner himself might put it, is a work eagerly awaited.

The question of writing and teaching is treated in the same glancing fashion. Socrates and Jesus, the world's two greatest teachers, chose not to publish. One used regularly to hear about great teachers—Jacob Klein at St. John's in Annapolis, Frank O'Malley at Notre Dame, and others—who published little or nothing. In some ways, their being above the coarse appetite for print added to their allure.

Igor Makarov

A caricature of Dostoyevsky by Igor Makarov

The question of publishing and teaching seems to me a central one in modern higher education. A professor at Washington University in St. Louis, which is enjoying a vogue just now as a popular school, told me that the genius of the place is in its convincing the parents of its students that it is a great teaching college while making plain to its faculty that it remains a research university: Publish, in other words, or perish.

The split is one that is probably in the end reconcilable. In my own teaching experience, I felt that my being a widely published writer gave me a good deal of such authority as I had with my students. Against George Bernard Shaw's famous apothegm—"He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches"—I did, and it seemed to help. At the same time, because I always thought of myself primarily as a writer, I felt myself scamping on the full-time duties of teaching. Most of the great modern teachers have not been active writers. One might go further to say that, as Nietzsche claimed a married philosopher was a joke, so a married teacher is at the disadvantage of not being at the full-time service of his students, as was, for a notable recent example, Allan Bloom, a seldom published bachelor, I am told, who was at the complete disposal of his students.

No honest person can teach other than a scientific subject, music, or a foreign language in a contemporary university without feeling at least a bit of a fraud. As a teacher of English and American literature and of prose writing, I know I felt a complex but genuine inadequacy. Sydney Smith, one of the few writers whom Steiner does not quote, once said that if the culinary arts had advanced no further than those of teaching, we should still be eating soup with our hands. Certainly, no other institution is as inefficient in delivering the good as so-called (always "so-called") higher education, especially in the humanities, where one teaches, say, to a room of thirty students and perhaps nine students really grasp one's meaning.

Anyone who has taught the humanities or history must have longed, at one point or another, as I know I did, to have taught science, or mathematics, or music—subjects where talent and ability show up early and can be tested soundly. Literary talent and skill at humanistic subjects, more often than not, don't come into play until well into one's twenties and sometimes later.

Teaching would-be writers, which I have also done, is an especially complicated enterprise. I used to tell students all that I could not do for them: Give them a love of language, make them more observant, teach them a dramatic sense, reveal the mechanics of wit, and much more. All I could hope to do for them was point out the possibilities in

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prose style, many of which they were unlikely to be aware of, and where their own mistakes might lie. Not, when you think about it, all that much. I used to end this with a little Zen *koan* of my own devising: "Writing cannot be taught, but it can be learned."

In teaching literature, there is the question of whether one ought to be teaching what one does in the first place. Lionel Trilling made this point in his essay "On the Teaching of Modern Literature," in which he quite appropriately asked if it is right to inculcate the dark visions for the young of such standard curriculum writers as Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Dostoyevsky, and Freud. I felt much the same teaching the perhaps less dark but still difficult Henry James, Joseph Conrad, and Willa Cather to people at the end of their adolescence, who already had enough on their minds, and in their hormones, without having to worry about, say, Joseph Conrad's essential message that we come into the world, live, and die absolutely alone. Does one really need to know this at nineteen?

One of Steiner's best portraits in *Lessons of the Masters* is of the philosopher and teacher Alain, an original thinker long dear to me for telling a friend of his recovering from surgery that he should give way to his depression, which was only natural after surgery, an insult to the body, but that he mustn't let this depression get him down. Alain felt, as do I, that the real teaching was done not in universities but at the secondary-school level, and he spent all his teaching years at the *lycée*. Yet Alain's most famous student was Simone Weil, who ended up starving herself to death for political reasons. So much for the far-reaching influence of great teachers.

Not long ago I appeared on a panel in which two women, in a slightly scornful-of-America way, talked about the glories of their education in France and in Austria. "At *Gymnasium*," one of them reported, "we studied Goethe and Schiller in a most careful way." I had to report that I myself went to a high school taught by mentally disturbed teachers. I added that, in education, America was the land of the second chance. One could be an uninterested student at the grammar, secondary, even university level, and still somehow have the opportunity to acquire a decent education. My own recollection as a student is that, when a professor was remarking that there were seven reasons for the Renaissance, I was wondering why he, or anyone else, would ever have bought so dreary a necktie and then stained it with soup.

Perhaps because I was so mediocre a student I have an abiding interest in famous men who, when young, were in the same condition. Henry James was one: inept at engineering school, a flop

Igor Makarov

A caricature of Gogol by Igor Makarov

at Harvard law school. Having established his incompetence in two fields, he found all that was left for him was to write brilliantly. Paul Válery was another. He was thought especially poor at mathematics, which kept him from a naval career; later in life mathematics became one of his intellectual passions.

As a teacher, I noted many students whom I came to think of as "good at school." The phrase, as I use it, is nonapprobative and carries no more weight than, say, "good at soccer." These students have been trained to take tests, to write the A paper, to score high on their SATs. They understand that the first question confronting the college student is what the hell does the professor want. Once they discover this, they deliver it. They may or may not be genuinely interested in books, ideas, culture. But culture isn't their goal—business or law or medical school is.

Among the topics that Steiner touches on is, inevitably, the Internet. "Fascinatingly," he writes, "the interactive, correctable, interruptible, media of word processors, of electronic textualities on the Internet and the web, may amount to a return, to which Vico would call a *ricorso*, to orality." He continues: "The screen can teach, examine, demonstrate, interact with a precision, a clarity, and a patience exceeding that of the human instructor. Its resources can be disseminated at will. It knows neither prejudice nor fatigue. In turn, the apprentice can question, answer back in a dialectic whose pedagogic value may come to surpass that of spoken discourse."

Something about this suggests that Steiner, once again nicely removed from reality, doesn't himself spend a lot of time at a computer. As an instrument of learning, the computer is at best a source of quick information—information, surely he would agree, isn't education—and even here it is often incomplete and frustratingly untrustworthy. The most interesting thing I had heard about education on the Internet comes from a man I know who taught a business-education course through computers. He remarked that he thought it possible to learn on the Internet, but that it is hell to teach on it: answering endless emails from students, feeling the inflexibility of programs that could not be easily altered, having no real human contact whatsoever—all this made, on the part of the teacher, for an excruciating boredom.

Almost all that is interesting in education is lost on George Steiner, owing to his relentless profundity. Paul Válery wrote that "only what is on the surface can have meaning," at least for those who are truly percipient. He added: "Being 'deep,' getting to the bottom of things, is nothing. Anyone can dive; some, however, are caught in the water weeds of their abyss and die there, unable to break free." Here is the perfect blurb for *Lessons of the Masters*. ♦

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Good Works

The economics of altruism.

BY JOHN J. DIIULIO JR.

When I was an undergraduate, among my favorite instructors was a then-untenured economist who preached a greed-is-good gospel ostensibly derived from Adam Smith: Man is *homo economicus*, a rationally selfish creature who, left free to compete, single-mindedly produces prosperity for himself but only serendipitously produces it for others. There was, he explained, really no room for such concepts as kindness, altruism, or sympathy in serious microeconomic analysis.

What Price the Moral High Ground?
Ethical Dilemmas in Competitive Environments
by Robert H. Frank
Princeton Univ. Press, 256 pp., $27.95

He elaborated that very point one fine afternoon when he kindly stayed after class to talk with me, and altruistically offered to help me land a better work-study job on campus the next summer. He also responded sympathetically when a group of us asked for extra help with an especially difficult problem set, buying us snacks on the way back to his office and leaving a tip. Some years later he got tenure, but several equally well-published assistant professors of economics who practiced me-first morality on the job did not.

Adam Smith would not be surprised, and he probably would pardon my other-regarding economics instructor for caricaturing Smith's ideas as many do. Both in his most famous book, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), and in his earlier but less known work, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), Smith taught that sympathy was every bit as natural a human propensity as selfishness.

It was, in fact, in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* that he first discussed the "invisible hand," writing that the rich "are led by an invisible hand" to "divide with the poor the produce of all their improvements . . . and afford means to the multiplication of the species." The book's first sentence declares: "How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortunes of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it." His arch-villains in *The Wealth of Nations* are mercantile capitalists whose unbridled greed, backed by government, begets neither individual productivity nor common prosperity. He argued that "in every improved and civilized society," government should promote the "wealth of nations" by permitting merchants and manufacturers to compete freely yet fairly while taking "pains to prevent" prosperity being purchased "at the expense . . . of the labouring poor."

It appears that contemporary social science and sociobiology are finally catching up to Adam Smith. Robert H. Frank's new *What Price the Moral High Ground? Ethical Dilemmas in Competitive Environments* may have the least alluring title imaginable, but it is a readable and important study. A Cornell University economist, Frank summarizes what numerous theoretically sound and methodologically rigorous studies from diverse academic disciplines now suggest about human nature and the conditions under which nice guys—and corporations and nations—finish first.

"All but the most extreme sociopaths," observes Frank, "have within them the capacity to experience sympathy for others and to weigh others' interests when deciding what to do." There is "persuasive evidence that in many situations we simply do not behave in the narrowly self-interested ways predicted by traditional theories." Standard "rational-choice" behavioral models cannot explain why you will probably return a wallet if you find it in a taxi. Likewise, the "stereotypical Darwinian actor does not help a victim in distress unless that victim is likely to return the favor or is a sufficiently close genetic relative." Instead, people make charitable gifts, and some love to do so anonymously. We sometimes strive to do a good job even when we know that we will get no material or social rewards for doing so. And total strangers sometimes risk life and limb for each other—but why?

Perhaps we are hard-wired to cooperate because cooperation often pays. We sympathetic souls have a biology-bred knack for finding, employing, marrying, and otherwise rewarding one another. Like my old economics instructor, we generally do better for ourselves—get promoted, attract more loyal mates, you name it—when we do well for others. Natural selection has bestowed "brain circuitry that enables us to experience sympathy, guilt, and other moral emotions," and we tax those circuits constantly in assessing and reassessing each other's trustworthiness and suitability as business partners, spouses, friends, bosses, and more. "People in every culture recognize" a given facial expression, Frank notes, "as an expression of sadness, distress, sympathy, or some closely related emotion. Most people cannot produce this expression on command," but "the muscles of the human face create the expression automatically when the relevant emotion is experienced." Through "animal-signaling" tutored by experience, even after quite limited interpersonal interaction we can often "identify

Contributing editor John J. DiIulio Jr. is co-author with James Q. Wilson of American Government: Institutions and Policies, *just released in its ninth edition.*

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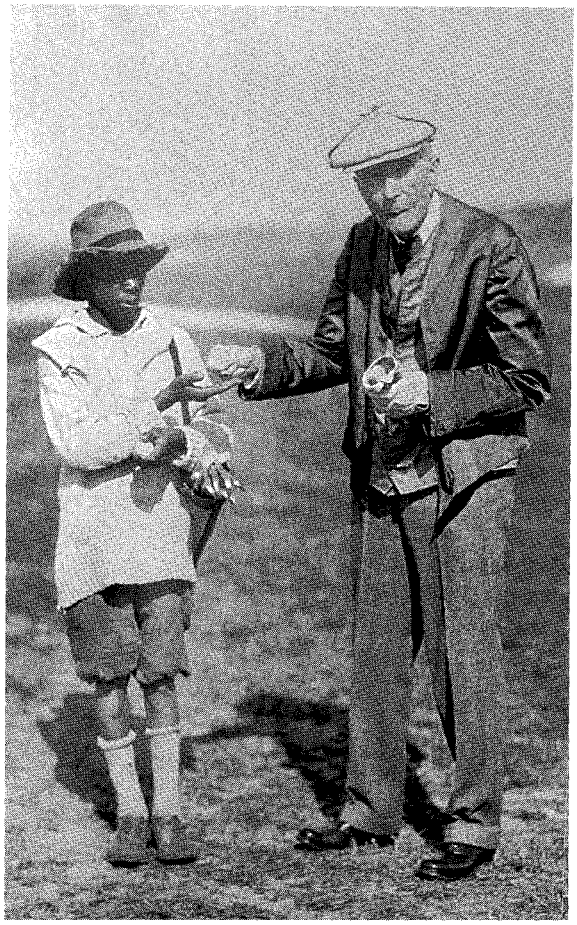

Bettmann / CORBIS

John D. Rockefeller gives away a dime in 1937.

people who are emotionally predisposed to cooperate" and sniff out selfishness.

Men will not be surprised that studies show women are much better at detecting liars and predicting trustworthiness than men. But, under a wide range of circumstances, both men and women behave as if "morality—defined as a willingness to put community interests ahead of one's own interests at least some of the time—is not only consistent with individual survival but often even conducive to it." Even bargain-hunting consumers often "incur costs on behalf of moral concerns," which helps to explain why, for example, McDonald's "sells more hamburgers because of its support for the parents of seriously ill children." Likewise, it helps explain why talented college graduates who could easily make more bucks in the for-profit sector flock to the nonprofit sector for jobs they consider "more satisfying in moral terms than otherwise similar jobs." In sum, "unselfish motives figure prominently in economic behavior" and in virtually every other realm of human endeavor and excellence as well.

Rightly noting that "a theory that can explain everything ends up explaining nothing," Frank scolds die-hard Darwinists and others who, desperate to salvage their survival-through-self-interest theories from considerable counter-evidence, descend into tautology by explaining altruism or cooperation "after the fact simply by positing a taste for it": Firefighters who rush into blazing buildings to rescue residents they cannot see through the soot and smoke are supposedly either impulsively indulging their needs for adrenaline rushes, or rationally calculating that they will not only survive but also get promotions and public salutes; people who bother to vote in presidential elections even though their vote will not affect the outcome, or who give money to public television even though their favorite shows will stay or go regardless, do so either because they are too stupid not to "free ride," or because they receive selective benefits tied to their efforts (only voters get noticed by neighbors at the polling place, only contributors get the album or umbrella); and so on. As Frank states, to be "scientifically valuable, a theory must make predictions that are at least in principle capable of being falsified."

I would say "amen" to that, but Frank makes only a few passing references to religion. This is an unfortunate omission, because there is a good and growing empirical research literature suggesting that, as a class, religious individuals and institutions are unsurpassed with respect to charitable giving and virtually all behaviors bearing on "the spontaneous emergence of prosocial behavior." As the University of Pennsylvania scholar of social work Ram Cnaan likes to quip, religious people and congregations are America's "invisible caring hand." The faithful are the polar opposite of the economists, who, research shows, "behave less cooperatively than non-economists along a variety of different dimensions" (trust less, give less to charity). That helps explain why my old economics instructor was highly caring by his department's standards, but only about average compared with my kindly professors in political science.

Frank notes that views "about human nature have important practical consequences" in "the public policy arena," but he does not look into the literature on political campaigns or legislative affairs. If he did, he might find much suggestive evidence that people pay close attention not only to candidates' policy positions but also to candidates' personalities. That is why, for all that is said against them, face-to-face debates still matter and many voters care deeply about whether a candidate seems trustworthy and honest.

Apart from tooting pro-social norms and cautioning readers not to get too giddy about the study's wider implications—for example, he warns that the United States will not long have "the highest rate of tax compliance among large developed countries" if "we continue to cut the staff and budget of the IRS sharply"—Frank says nothing much about how civic life, government performance, or efforts to ensure the wealth, health, and security of nations can flourish or falter depending on whether they embody or enervate empirically correct beliefs about human nature.

That's a shame, since it is only a slight stretch to say that America became a truly great nation because, in different ways and with varying degrees of fidelity over time, its mixed economy and representative democracy have assumed people to be what James Madison, echoing Adam Smith, described in *The Federalist Papers*: creatures "more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to co-operate for their common good" yet possessing many "other qualities" without which

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there would not be "sufficient virtue among men for self-government."

No nation relies more heavily—or more reliably—than America does on civic sympathies channeled through churches and other volunteer-based organizations to deliver social services and meet a wide variety of human needs. None can count so strongly on individual charitable contributions to soar or people to pitch in when emergencies occur or disasters strike at home or abroad. None has more consistently enacted big-hearted immigration laws and free-but-fair trade policies. And, when our public policies have tilted toward either selfishness (for instance, overregulating corporate practices in ways that cost lots but cut environmental pollution little) or sympathy alone (say, under-punishing violent criminals in ways that rehabilitate little but compromise public safety lots), things have often gone awry.

Still, for a university press treatise that packs a serious academic punch, *What Price the Moral High Ground?* is wide-ranging and well written. So, despite my nitpicks, I intend to buy more copies and give them to several graduate students as gifts; besides, in his dustjacket's photo, Robert Frank looks like a nice-enough guy—at least, for an economist. ♦

The Roman Plays?

On PBS, Michael Wood goes in search of Shakespeare, the crypto-Roman Catholic. **BY PETER W. DICKSON**

As fascination with Shakespeare's dramas and poems endures, the desire to know more about the inner life of the greatest literary figure in the English language intensifies—though scholars have always failed to satisfy it, because "there is no evidence, you know." That was the pithy response of Simon Schama when he warned British historian-turned-documentary filmmaker Michael Wood about the pitfalls in trying to make the first-ever film that would make Shakespeare come alive.

But Wood persisted. The result is both an impressive film and a companion book entitled *In Search of Shakespeare*. The four-hour BBC film will air nationally on various PBS channels in segments throughout February. Many who watch this film may not be aware that Wood's exposé of Shakespeare's family's abiding attachment to Roman Catholicism, and perhaps his own, is quite controversial. Since the mid-1980s, scholars have had sharp differences concerning the "Catholic question." For his part, Wood seems perplexed that others fail to appreciate that his exploration of how this religious heritage colored the bard's life and writings helps greatly to overcome the paucity of other evidence illuminating the man's inner life.

Indeed, the dreary bottom line is that between his birth in 1564 and his purchase of an expensive home in Stratford town in 1597, this particular William Shakespeare (there were several with this name at the time) only left records pertaining to his shotgun marriage to Anne Hathaway and the birth of his children. While biographers can pad their narratives with "could have" or "might have" speculation, as every Shakespearean biographer has done since the eighteenth-century, a documentary filmmaker cannot get away with it so easily. To fill up the videotape and to give us a more compelling picture, Wood astutely decided to ride the new wave in Shakespeare scholarship: the growing evidence that young William emerged from a family deeply imbedded in a network of hard-core Catholics from South Warwickshire.

Harvard professor Stephen Greenblatt, due to publish yet another Shakespeare biography within the next year, once encouraged Hollywood producers to make a film exploring this Catholic connection. He had no success, as filmmakers concluded, with *Shakespeare in Love*, that sex was easier for moviegoers to grasp than the conflicts between Protestants and Catholics four hundred years ago.

Hollywood isn't alone. The idea of a Catholic Shakespeare troubles some scholars as well. He was for two decades on the royal payroll as the senior dramatist of the acting company directly tied to Queen Elizabeth's court. And after the queen's harsh new edicts in the early 1580s, anyone who failed to appear regularly at Anglican services, or who sustained Catholic faith in secrecy, risked ruinous fines, imprisonment, and even execution.

Wood notes that this was the fate of several close friends and relatives of Shakespeare's parents. And he provides a map in his book showing the location of an execution scaffold next to the Curtain Theater in the first theatrical district in London, just north of the city walls in Shoreditch. Wood doesn't mention that the queen in August 1588 had several English Catholics executed to reinforce and celebrate the defeat of the Spanish Armada, including one Jesuit on this particular scaffold.

Such historical facts are a jarring reminder of how awkward a Catholic bard on the royal payroll would have been in that era and later for a nation whose cultural identity cannot be divorced from the Reformation and the Protestant heritage. Nonetheless, the evidence for the staunch Catholicism of Shakespeare's parents and his own dossier as a crypto-Catholic remains impressive. His favorite daughter, Susanna, failed to attend and initially defied inquisitive officials about her nonattendance at Anglican services in 1606. This was only four months after the Jesuit Gun-

Peter W. Dickson is a former CIA political-military analyst and biographer of Henry Kissinger.

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Courtesy: PBS.

Micahel Wood at the house of Shakespeare's mother, Mary Arden, in Wilmcote.

powder Plot failed to blow up Parliament with King James in the building. In early 1613, while his dramas were being featured for the first and very Protestant royal wedding in seventy years (the king's daughter marrying the leader of the German Protestants), Shakespeare had the amazing audacity to go out and purchase the Blackfriar's Gatehouse. This property was notorious for being a haven or safehouse where Catholics and priests gathered in secret for the Mass and other religious observances.

Mainstream scholars have long insisted—and correctly—that the literary works taken as a whole could not have come from the pen of a person with a sectarian worldview or the "siege mentality" natural for English Catholics in the face of brutal persecution. The traces of the old faith that can be found in the dramas and poems are few in number and orthodox scholars chalk them up to Shakespeare's professionalism as a dramatist when he tried to be faithful to the pre-Reformation historical context of his dramas. Beyond that, they observe that some Shakespearean dramas convey a hostility to the papacy and Catholic views, to the point that he sometimes seems a propagandist for the Tudor regime. From this perspective, they will allow that perhaps the Bard might have been a homosexual, but never a secret Roman Catholic.

Wood, who focuses in the film and book far more on social history than literary texts, never provides a convincing rebuttal to this analysis. And he rings an odd note when he suggests the Sonnets are modeled on the Rosary. And does again when he suggests the Ghost in *Hamlet* (whose young protagonist is on recess from Luther's Wittenburg University, no less) is infused with the spirit of Catholicism. For these reasons, it was no surprise that Stanley Wells, arguably the preeminent Shakespeare scholar these days, ridiculed Wood's pursuit of the Catholic connection in a lecture last fall at the Smithsonian, just two days before Wood's book-signing presentation in the same auditorium.

Wells's categorical rejection was endorsed by Frank Kermode, who contrasted Wells's recent Shakespeare biography with that of Wood's in the *New York Times*—much to Wood's detriment. Wood won endorsement from the venerable Robert Giroux, who reviewed the book in the *Los Angeles Times*. But Clive James tried to ignore the Catholic Question entirely in his review in the *Times Literary Supplement*, while Germaine Greer decided to go on the offensive against Wood's catholicization.

Such tactics are not likely to discourage the Catholic Bard movement. Fordham University Press and Manchester University in Britain have just released substantial anthologies of scholarly essays ferreting out every imaginable hint of a Catholic sensibility in the staggering canon of nearly forty dramas. Still, no attentive observer can deny that all this amounts to a major schism among Shakespeare scholars.

But Wood and the BBC seem untroubled—indeed, even reassured that a Shakespeare who was a crypto-Catholic will make a more inclusive cultural icon for the Global Village. At the Smithsonian, Wood lamented that Wells and others are in a state of denial about the Catholic-flavored biographical evidence at a time when they should be grateful that he has made Shakespeare seem more real.

Presumably, Wood meant that his portrait of a living Shakespeare would be the answer to those who deny that the "Stratford man" wrote the works. But a Catholic Shakespeare is harder to accept as the author, not easier. Still, Wood has put together a beautifully filmed and fascinating documentary that's worth everyone's time to see. ♦

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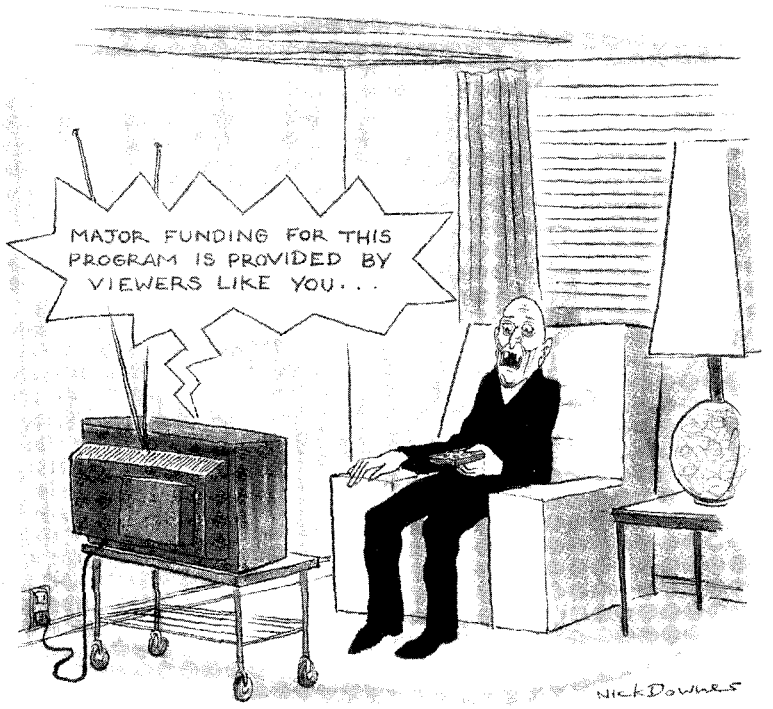

Books in Brief

The Duchess Who Wouldn't Sit Down **by Jesse Browner (Bloomsbury, 240 pp., $23.95).** Subtitled "An Informal History of Hospitality," this is a ramble through the downside of etiquette. The title role belongs to the Duchess of Mantua, a seventeenth-century blueblood who challenged the seating arrangement at the court of Louis XIV. Formal rules determined who was eligible to sit, at court, in an armchair, a straight backed chair, or a stool known as a *taboret*. The duchess was slotted for a *taboret*, which she rejected as inadequate. So she left town.

Jesse Browner points out that Greek mythology casts nearly every disaster as a result of some "desecration of hospitality." The list includes Procrustes, who would rearrange the anatomy of his guests to fit the guest's bed. And Atlas, who was turned to stone for refusing hospitality to Perseus. And Tantalus, who was condemned to perpetual agony because he served his own son as the main course of a banquet. But these are just the tip of the Hellenic iceberg. For additional infamous finales, see Bulfinch's mythology.

In *The Duchess Who Wouldn't Sit Down*, Browner wanders through the backstairs of history, picking up items of inhuman interest. For example, the most repellent dish on the medieval menu has got to be a delicacy known as a cockentrice. This was named after a mythical serpent with a gaze that could kill. The recipe consisted of the front half of a piglet sewn onto the back half of a capon. And vice versa. When the results are stuffed, roasted and glazed, you're left with two kinky mutants.

Adolf Hitler was a vegetarian, and Browner includes in her smorgasbord a brace of menus from his Alpine hideaway at Berchtesgaden. Hitler catered to his guests' every need, plus some they weren't aware of. A network of underground tunnels was ready with poison-gas propellants, just in case. For lesser problems there were tear-gas nozzles.

A high point of hospitality in modern times was attained by the institution of the salon, a convocation of celebrities, and *The Duchess Who Wouldn't Sit Down* contrasts the histories of two celebrated salons. The country house of Lady Ottoline Morrell was a magnet for Edwardian England. It attracted the likes of Virginia Woolf, Bertrand Russell, Henry James, Roger Fry, and Clive Bell. "Some came for the weekend, others stayed for the year." One painter stayed for three years.

But Lady Ottoline's generosity was not appreciated. ("They ate Ottoline's food and complained about it.") She was self-deprecating, and her guests took her at face value. The most unkind cuts of all were given by writers who ridiculed her in their novels. Aldous Huxley lampooned her in *Crome Yellow*, and D.H. Lawrence belittled her in *Women in Love*.

Gertrude Stein was not handicapped by self-doubt. She believed that "nobody has done anything to develop the English language since Shakespeare except myself, and Henry James, perhaps a little." She also had a keen eye for non-objective art. Gertrude and her brother Leo took up residence on Paris's Left Bank and turned it into what one guest called "a ministry of propaganda for modern art." Matisse, Picasso, Braque, Derain, and Duchamp were among the members of Stein's Saturday night salon, as were most of the leaders of the modernist movement.

World War I brought an end to Stein's salon. But she remained "the patron saint of the avant garde." Browner suggests that Stein was liked because she was expansive and democratic, while Lady Ottoline was a chilly aristocrat. Still, that should not have been an excuse to desecrate her hospitality. The Greeks may have been on to something.

—*Martin Levin*

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Not a Parody

On February 1, *New York Times* op-ed editor David Shipley described the high standards that must be met by contributors to his page. Two days later, the *Times* published this op-ed by astrologer Erin Sullivan.

And Now a Word From Op-Ed

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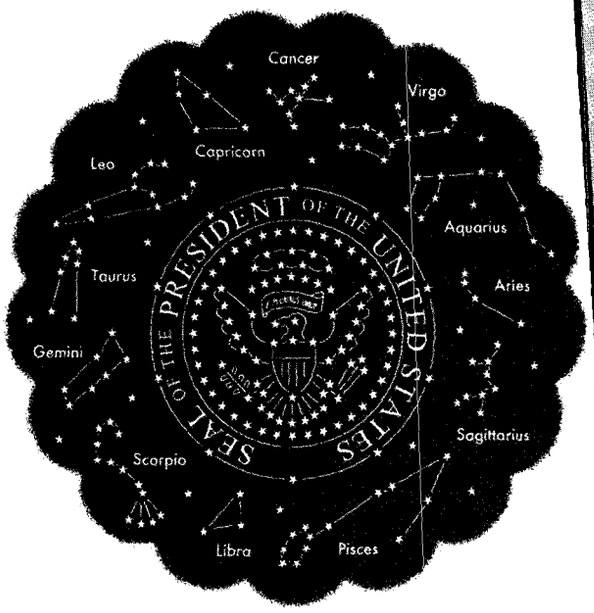
FEBRUARY 16, 2004

The Stars Have Voted

By Erin Sullivan



Peter Hoey

SANTA FE, N.M.

If seeking the presidency is like reaching for the stars, then why not look to the stars — and the other heavenly bodies — for insights on the candidates. The Democratic hopefuls face seven primaries today. Here's what their astrological charts can tell voters about their character — and who may have a celestial advantage:

Wesley Clark was born on Dec. 23, 1944, with Sun in Capricorn and Moon in Aries, two leadership and executive signs. He has a warrior signature: when civilized it indicates a master strategist; at its most martial, it is ruthlessly determined and messianic. For him, this year is an astrological rite of passage into elder status. His conservative Capricorn nature is now at its most rigorous, so what we see is who he is. Endowed with wit and a youthful nature, General Clark is a man's man. His horoscope shows him at a high point of achievement, having opportunities to be influential and willing to take what he can get.

Howard Dean was born on Nov. 17, 1948, with a Scorpio Sun and Gemini Moon. Thus, Dr. Dean's character contains a paradox: he is both deep and shallow. He can be cool and distant or passionate and intense. The position of two of the planets in his chart shows erratic energy and emotional volatility. His horoscope for June 2003 through the coming spring shows a period of soul searching. Astrologically, it is a time of the mythic "brother battle," in which Mr. Dean's confrontations with others really reflect his own inner conflict.

John Edwards, born on June 10, 1953, is a Gemini with the Moon in Gemini. There is much in his horoscope that makes him the puer aeternus, the eternal boy. His mind is playful and rich with ideas. However, his chart shows him to be a true son of the messenger and trickster god, and so capable of exceptional dualism. His horoscope tells us that he abhors confrontation unless he knows he is morally justified. Having battled inner demons over the last three years, Mr. Edwards will rise this summer like a giant refreshed.

John Kerry, born on Dec. 11, 1943, is a Sagittarius with four Gemini planets in the public relationship sector of his birth chart. He has a judicial character, but also has little tolerance for fools. Born with the rare Mars retrograde, he entered life with a rage — a deep, inner need to overcome (the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. also had the Mars retrograde). He has a strong sense of responsibility as well as feelings of caution about his message. Over the last 18 months the planets have empowered him with core strength. The long-term picture depicts him achieving his highest goals.

> Is the age of Sagittarius dawning? Maybe.

Dennis Kucinich, born on Oct. 8, 1946, has his Sun in Libra with its opposite sign, Aries, rising at birth. This is the signature of the peaceful warrior, who desires serenity but is willing to spar for it. The planetary formation at birth endows Mr Kucinich with a profound dedication to conservation of resources, both natural and manufactured. He is relentless in his pursuit of justice and truth. He deeply empathizes with the collective suffering of humanity. The planets show his life at a major juncture; he is only just beginning to establish roots and a sense of real security.

Joseph Lieberman was born on Feb. 24, 1942. Although his exact time of birth is uncertain, based on the Sun in Pisces and Moon in Gemini on his birth date, he is primarily motivated by his intellect as it is applied to his spiritual values. He is stubborn and not adaptable. His star chart shows him to be hard working and reliable, but also feeling overwhelmed by his labors and the influence of those around him. He is in a vital transitional phase. His capacity to reveal himself is blocked, limiting his drive and ambitions.

Al Sharpton was born on Oct. 3, 1954. His birth time is also uncertain, but based on the day of his birth, he is a Libra with the Moon in Sagittarius. His horoscope reveals him as witty, quietly subversive, and having lofty intentions. He is fascinated by other cultures and desires global harmony, seeing the whole world as his home. Right now, his chart indicates he is seeking a way to consolidate his many talents and focus on one or two main themes. He will feel the increasing pressure of those who are in greater places of power over the next 10 months. ❑

Erin Sullivan is the author of "Saturn in Transit" and the forthcoming "Astrology and Psychology of Midlife and Aging."

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It's great news [illegible] identify themselves as environmentalists. Unfortunately, a small number have embraced environmentalism with a religious fervor, basing their beliefs more on faith and dogma than on data and science.

The agenda of these radical environmentalists has less to do with protecting the environment and more to do with an antipathy toward business, profits, and certain technologies. Ironically, their efforts to achieve their own narrow vision of what constitutes a "good society" are often inimical to protecting the environment.

For example, exploiting a technicality that links the Endangered Species Act (ESA) to pesticide registration, **environmental groups have filed a spate of nuisance lawsuits that attempt to prevent the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) from registering or reregistering pesticides**. The environmental groups allege that, by failing to consult with the agencies that administer the ESA—the National Marine Fisheries Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service—before registering a pesticide, the EPA has not complied fully with the law, despite the fact that the Fish and Wildlife Service's *Endangered Species Act Consultation Handbook* makes it clear it does not have the authority to "force an action agency to consult." Even the custodians of the ESA do not feel that they have the power to compel consultations, despite current regulations seeming to require such an exchange.

These suits are not substantive but procedural; no actual damage to threatened or endangered species from the EPA's actions has been demonstrated. And never mind that pesticides control vermin, increase agricultural productivity, reduce the need to convert wild lands into farmland, prevent the growth of harmful fungi and bacteria on crops, reduce prices to consumers, and undergo exhaustive testing and regulatory review to ensure their safety.

Although the ESA requires all federal agencies to take into account possible adverse effects on endangered species, Congress recognized the value of pesticides by directing that pesticide registration by the EPA (under the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act) should "minimize the impacts to persons engaged in agricultural food and fiber commodity production and other affected pesticide users and applicators."

The various government agencies involved have recently devised a solution to the procedural problem: Because the EPA boasts vast and comprehensive experience in assessing the potential risks of pesticides to plant and animal species—including those listed as endangered under the ESA—the Fish and Wildlife Service and National Marine Fisheries Service have proposed a rule that will eliminate the requirement for the EPA to consult with other agencies on pesticide registration. This technical revision will not only assure greater consistency in the assessment of pesticides but, by freeing regulators to more expeditiously license environmentally friendly products, will also better protect endangered species and their habitats. And, of course, it will render the lawsuits moot.

This change will not fix other existing flaws in the ESA, but it will at least prevent this legislation from enabling activists to interfere with the development and registration of an essential class of agricultural and consumer products.

—Henry I. Miller, M.D.

Henry I. Miller, M.D., is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

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